

# California Historical Quarterly

March 1971



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# California Historical Quarterly

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THE COVER: The completion of the Pacific Railroad was one of those epochal events that led to all kinds of serious reflections and frivolous actions: the formation of the California Historical Society (1871) illustrating the former, our cover woodcut (1870) demonstrating the latter. In the recorded event at Land's End, the presiding officer of a businessmen's junket from Boston is seen pouring Atlantic waters into the Pacific.

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# San Francisco in 1843: A Key to Dr. Sandels' Drawing

By BRUNO FRITZSCHE

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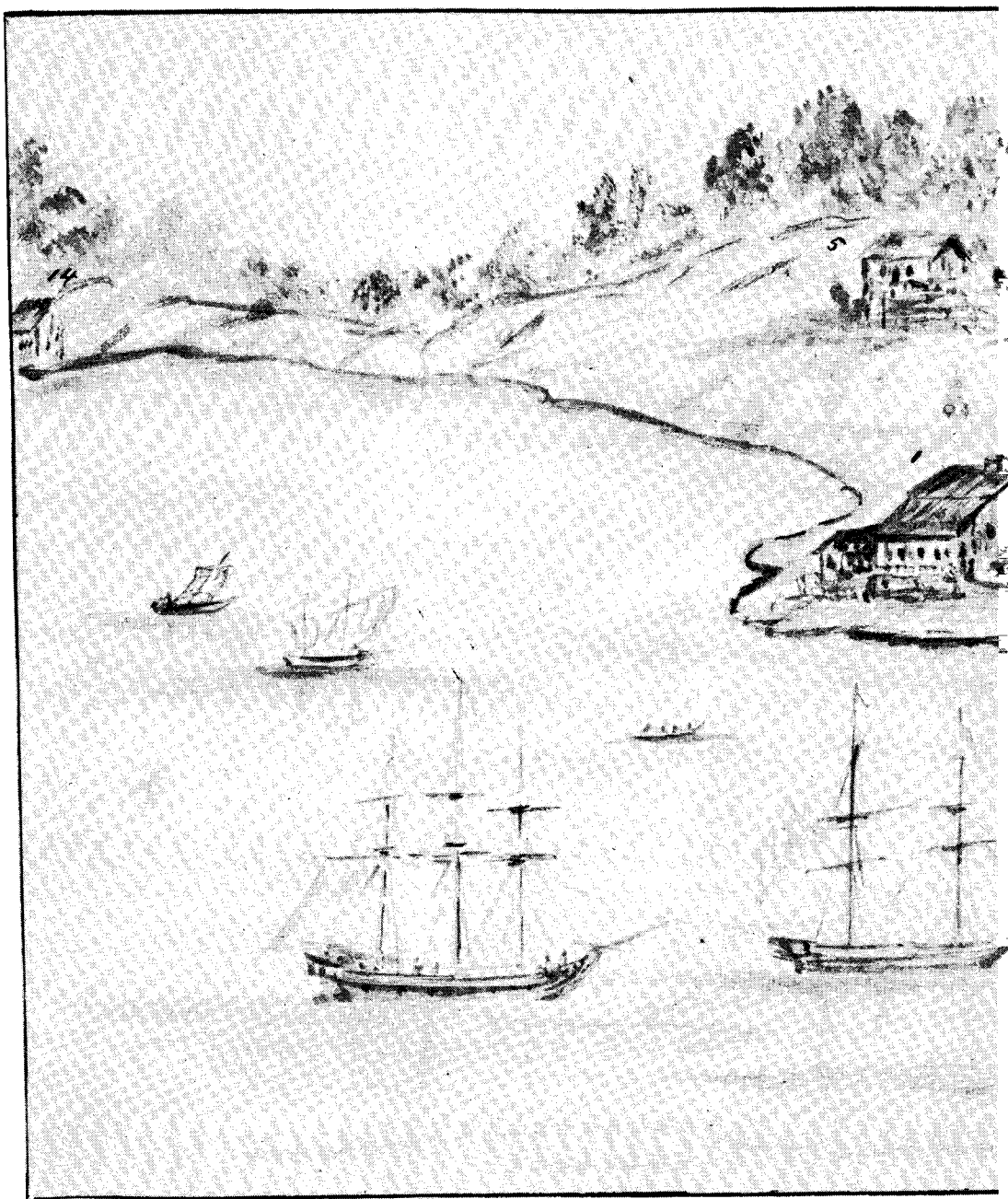
MANY MYSTERIES SURROUND the life of Dr. Sandels, alias G. M. Waseurtz af Sandels, alias The King's Orphan, who is said to have visited California in 1842—1843. His account of California, which turned up under strange circumstances at a meeting of the Associated Pioneers of the Territorial Days of California in 1878, is also doubtful and mysterious, and Bancroft's opinion about this manuscript was that "there is a strong element of fiction in some parts of it."

All this is narrated in the Introduction to the handsome edition of Sandels' *A Sojourn in California*, published by the Grabhorn Press for the Society of California Pioneers in 1945. With this element of mystery in mind, a careful analysis reveals a number of inconsistencies. One of the most interesting is to be found in the pencil drawing of *The Sea Town and Port of Yerbabuena in San Francisco Bay in California*, reproduced here. The facts show here a very flagrant and unmistakable inconsistency between the key which accompanies the drawing and the drawing itself. House No. 12 is referred to in the key as "Old Adobe Custom House." Now, this *Old* House was, at the time Sandels was supposed to be here, so brand new that it was not yet built.<sup>1</sup> Bancroft, in his *History of California*, cites in detail the sources which refer to the erection of the Custom House. They show clearly that it was built by Bartolomeo Diaz in 1845, two years after Sandels' visit.<sup>2</sup> Even more confusing is the fact that No. 6 is supposed to be Captain Leidesdorff's City Hotel which was begun in 1846 and not finished before 1847. One would, on this basis, suppose that there must be some forgery involved.

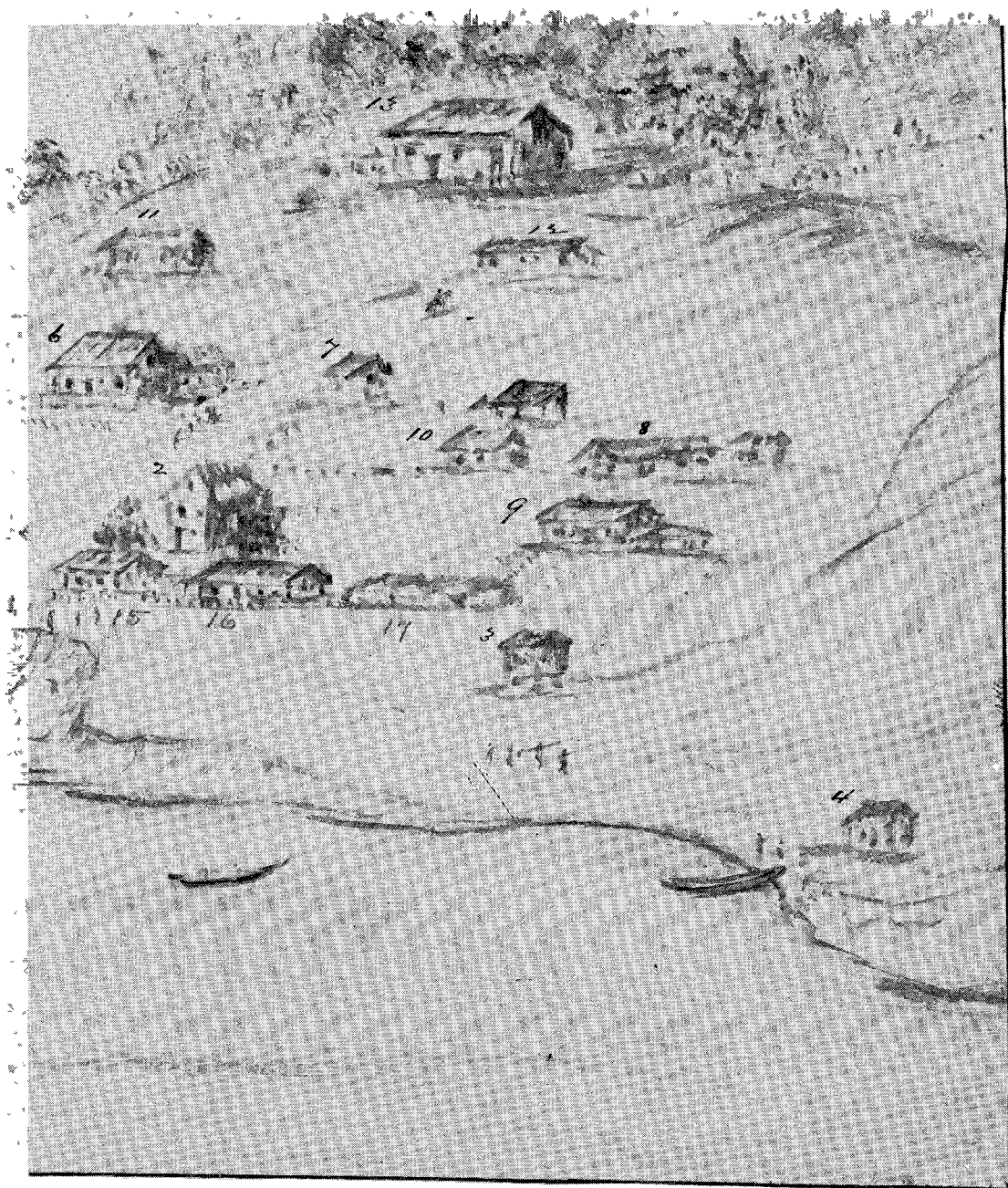
Upon closer examination, however, we see that in many respects the sketch is done rather accurately. The sizes and proportions of the principal buildings—the Hudson's Bay Store (No. 1), Casa Grande (No. 13), Nathan Spear's Mill (No. 2)—are rendered rather well; the shrub-oaks and bushes encroach upon the boundaries of the tiny settlement; the small *cantil* or cliff in front of the houses at the edge of the water is drawn in carefully. All of these features are corroborated by the map drawn by Wm. A. Richardson in 1835<sup>3</sup> and that of Jean-Jacques Vioget in 1839. The only thing missing in Sandels' sketch is the *Laguna Salida* as evidenced by the aforementioned

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The authority of Sandels' drawing of Yerba Buena in 1843 is evident from the general character of the sketch as well as from detailed analysis. The original view is owned by the Society of California Pioneers, and appears with many other important drawings by G. M. Waseurtz af Sandels in *A Sojourn in California, by the King's Orphan*, edited by Helen Putnam Van Sicklen, in a Grabhorn Press edition for the Book Club of California (San Francisco, 1945).

maps and by many eye-witness accounts of the early days. This *Laguna Salida* was not filled in until 1848<sup>4</sup> and at that time intersected Montgomery Street at about Jackson Street. In Sandels' sketch it should be visible in the vicinity of house No. 3.

All in all, the drawing in itself seems to be rather accurate and fairly reliable, but the key is not. An examination of the original drawing, in the possession of the Society of California Pioneers, reveals that the key was not drawn up by the supposed Dr. Sandels himself, but by his first editor, who probably based his explanations on the much later Bosqui map of 1847.<sup>5</sup> To draw full use from this sketch, then, it is necessary to devise a more accurate key which with corroborating contemporary sources will enable us to understand Sandels' drawing. An attempt to furnish such a key produced the following comparison with the key as published in 1926 and again in 1945, which will be referred to in the following pages as the *first key*.

*First Key*

1. Hudson's Bay Company building
2. Old Mill
3. G. Reynolds' residence
4. Capt. Antonio Ortega's residence
5. Wm. A. Lienesdorff cottage
6. City Hotel (Wm. A. Lienesdorff)
7. Capt. John Paty's Adobe building
8. Juan C. Davis' residence
9. Peter I. Sherback's residence
10. Sill's blacksmith shop
11. Jesus Noé's residence
12. Old Adobe Custom House
13. Juan N. Padilla's residence
14. Lienesdorff warehouse
15. Wm. H. Davis' store
16. Capt. Wm. Hinckley's residence
17. Gen. M. G. Vallejo's building

*New Key*

1. Same
2. Same
3. Dionisio Garcia's house or Jack Fuller's wash house
4. Punta del Embarcadero
5. Jack Fuller's house
6. Vioget Tavern
7. Same
8. Same
9. Wm. Reynolds' residence
10. Pedro Sherreback's house
11. Vicente Miramontes' house
12. John Cooper's house
13. Case Grande
14. Wm. H. Davis' warehouse
15. Kent Hall
16. Same
17. Same

The following detailed discussion of each building demonstrates the necessity for drawing up this new key and indicates the principal sources from which the new key was devised.



1. *Store of the Hudson's Bay Company*: This building can easily be recognized not only by its "Dutch-Barn" roof, but also by its size. It was the most pretentious house in early Yerba Buena, built by Jacob Primer Leese in 1838. The two-story frame building, resting on eighteen 4'x6' foundation blocks, consisted of a central entrance hall leading to the large store at the southern end and to four bedrooms and two living rooms in the northern part of the building. The living quarters were painted green and white. One room, possibly a living room, was panelled with pine planks.<sup>6</sup> In 1841 Leese sold his house to the Hudson's Bay Company for \$4600.<sup>7</sup> To the left of the main building one of the outhouses, probably the kitchen, can be seen. This was made of adobe bricks to prevent fire hazard.

2. *Nathan Spear's Mill*: This structure, too, is easily identified from its outward appearance. It was the only two-story building in Yerba Buena at this time, with the exception of the Leese house, mentioned above. The heavy frame had been put up by Daniel Sill, a millwright in Spear's employ. He also operated the machinery which Spear had imported from Boston. A team of six mules set the mill in motion.<sup>8</sup> In later years the upper story served as printing office for the first newspaper in Yerba Buena, the *California Star*.<sup>9</sup>

3. *Dionisio Garcia's House or Fuller's Wash House*: The first key identifies this structure as G. Reynolds' residence. The evidence indicates rather that Reynolds' residence is No. 9. His dwelling-place was on the west side of Montgomery St., which was delineated by the houses of Spear (No. 15), Hinckley (No. 16), and Vallejo (No. 17). House No. 3 is clearly on the east side of Montgomery St., nearer the shore. The lot on which the house appears to be standing was granted to Dionisio Garcia in 1839.<sup>10</sup> According to the law, the owner of a lot had to improve it and erect a building of some description within one year. We may, therefore, assume that by 1843 a dwelling of some sort was standing on this place, although we do not have any documentary evidence for it. On the other hand strict observance of the law was not a common virtue in those times and it may well be that Garcia did not bother about improving his *solar*. Furthermore, as the prominent landmark of the *Laguna Salida*, which should appear right where this house stands, is missing, we are somewhat at a loss to place this building correctly. It may be that the artist meant to depict Jack Fuller's first shed or "wash house," although this small structure was more to the left, *i.e.* south, approximately between House No. 16 and the beach.

4. *Punta del Embarcadero*: The Bosqui map of 1847 mentions Capt. Ortega's residence, but much further inland than house No. 4 in Sandels' drawing, on the west side of Montgomery St. In Sandels' sketch this house appears to be right at the beach, near the point called *Punta del Embarcadero* in Richard-

son's map. Also, the boat drawn up to the beach near this house seems to indicate that this is the *Punta del Embarcadero*. The land around this point was granted to Jacob Primer Leese and Salvador Vallejo, acting for the Russian-American Fur Company.<sup>11</sup> In 1839 the Russians built here a warehouse which burnt down in the fall of the same year. It was never rebuilt as the Russians were about to pull out of California.<sup>12</sup> It is, however, very well possible that Leese and Vallejo built another warehouse for their own purposes on this strategic point, although no documentary evidence of it has been found.

5. *Jack Fuller's House*: The Leidesdorff cottage mentioned in the first key was built after 1844 by Robert Ridley, who sold it in October, 1846, to Wm. Leidesdorff for \$2,000.<sup>13</sup> Only then did it become known as "Leidesdorff Cottage." This is more probably the residence of Jack Fuller, one of the earliest inhabitants, who came in 1838 with Spear; Fuller being a first-rate cook and Spear a first-rate gourmet.<sup>14</sup> Fuller was a jack-of-all-trades and a merchant of sorts who took to the bottle, enjoyed the easy-going life of California, and subsequently went broke.<sup>15</sup> Sandels' neat drawing actually shows three buildings, which tallies with Bancroft's statement, which says that Fuller's residence consisted of two wooden houses and an adobe bakehouse.

6. *Vioget's Saloon*: As has been previously stated, this is very definitely not the City Hotel of Leidesdorff but the famous tavern of Jean-Jacques Vioget. Vioget was one of the most colorful inhabitants of Yerba Buena—seafarer, painter, violinist, surveyor, merchant, and innkeeper. He built his residence, "a small cluster of one-story buildings,"<sup>16</sup> in 1840 and 1841 and applied in 1842 for a license to open a *casa de billar*.<sup>17</sup> Vioget's saloon was the center of social activity in the early days. There, too, hung the first map of the settlement, from which the new-comers selected their lots. This was also the site of the famous eating contest between the two sturdy violinists, Andreas Hoepfner and Jean-Jacques Vioget, who, to the general amusement of many spectators, devoured gargantuan quantities of beef, tamales, beans, and pies—"enough to satisfy a dozen hungry men."<sup>18</sup> After the American Conquest the house was renamed *Portsmouth House* in honor of the *U.S.S. Portsmouth*.

7. *Capt. John Paty's Adobe*: Captain Paty was a merchant from the Sandwich Islands. According to Bancroft, Bartolomeo Diaz built an adobe house for Paty in 1846. Although this may be true, there was a house on Paty's lot as early as 1839, as shown by Vioget's map of that date.

8. *Juan C. Davis' Residence*: Juan C. Davis was a Scottish carpenter who came to California in 1839. He established himself in Yerba Buena and in the

Napa Valley. In his boatyard in the Napa Estuary he built the schooner *Susanna* and the launch *Londresa*.<sup>19</sup> He had a 100 vara lot on the north side of Washington Street, between Kearny and Montgomery Streets.<sup>20</sup> According to Bancroft he built on his lot a house, a carpenter's shop, and a blacksmith's shop. Possibly house No. 9 is one of these buildings belonging to Juan C. Davis.

9. *Wm. Reynolds' Residence*: This structure, on the northwestern corner of Montgomery and Washington Streets, is mentioned in the Bosqui map of 1847 and nowhere else. The lot had been granted to Francisco Guerrero in 1843.<sup>20</sup> It is possible that Guerrero, who used to live at the mission, erected a building on his lot and rented it out to William Reynolds. Reynolds, whose Christian name was William rather than G. . . ., as mentioned in the Bosqui map, was a carpenter and partner in the firm of Juan C. Davis & Co. He resided in the Napa Valley and, from 1843, at least part time in Yerba Buena.<sup>21</sup> See also No. 3.

10. *Pedro Sherreback's House*. Pedro Sherreback, Scandinavian by origin and a carpenter by trade, was granted a lot in the same block as Paty (No. 7), Hinckley (No. 16), and Spear (Nos. 2 and 15).<sup>22</sup> It seems, therefore, appropriate to call No. 10 his house rather than No. 9 as in the first key. The first key identifies No. 10 as Daniel Sill's blacksmith shop. Sill, being in the employ of Nathan Spear never had a lot, much less a house of his own.<sup>23</sup> The Bosqui map of 1847, it is true, has a building called Daniel Sill's blacksmith shop, but this was a blacksmith shop belonging not to Sill but to John Finch, "the tinker."<sup>24</sup> This blacksmith shop did not exist before 1844 and it was erected to the west of where No. 10 stands.

11. *Vicente Miramontes' House*: The Bosqui map and the first key call this house Jesus Noé's residence. It may be that Jesus Noé, at some time, lived here. The lot and the house thereon belonged to Vicente Miramontes as witnessed by Wheeler's Land Titles and by a deed of sale from Miramontes to Leidesdorff in 1847.<sup>25</sup>

12. *John Cooper's House*: As already mentioned, this cannot be the Old Adobe Custom House. Not only did the Custom House at that time not exist, it was, when built, much larger than the poor shanty represented by No. 12.<sup>26</sup> Its size fits in rather well with the hut John Cooper erected in 1840 on the lot which belonged to his well-known cousin Juan Bautista Roger Cooper.

13. *Casa Grande*: This clearly must be Wm. A. Richardson's Adobe House or *Casa Grande*, built in 1837. The *Casa Grande* was, after all, not so very grand, measuring only 66 by 49 feet.<sup>27</sup> Laplace, the French explorer, who



apparently had no knowledge of its pretentious title, describes it as a "neat little house."<sup>28</sup> Still, it was one of the bigger houses in Yerba Buena, as one can see from Sandels' drawing. It was also one of the few adobe houses in California boasting a wooden rather than an earthen floor.<sup>29</sup> When he moved to Sausalito in 1841 Richardson sold his house to Santiago McKinley, a trader from the Sandwich Islands. At the time our sketch was drawn, William Heath Davis, agent for McKinley, lived in the *Casa Grande*.

14. *William Heath Davis' Warehouse*: According to his own testimony, William H. Davis, one of the most prominent merchants of Yerba Buena, in 1843 built a large wooden warehouse on the beach, at the foot of Sacramento St.<sup>30</sup> Leidesdorff's warehouse was erected near this spot, but only in 1844 or 1845. The first key, therefore, is probably wrong in assuming that No. 14 is Leidesdorff's warehouse.

15. *Kent Hall*: Nathan Spear, who upon termination of his ill-fated partnership with Jacob Primer Leese moved from Monterey to Yerba Buena to take matters in his own hands, bought a ship's cabin from the bark *Kent*.<sup>31</sup> As he was not a naturalized Mexican citizen he could not hold a legal title to any land, but with the special permission of the authorities he was permitted to put up his ready-made house right on the beach. Only after Spear had retired, in 1845, to the healthier climate of the North Bay Shore, did William H. Davis install himself in Kent Hall which was, in fact, not much of a hall, measuring only 12 by 18 feet.<sup>31</sup>

16. *Captain Hinckley's Residence*: William Sturgis Hinckley, the black sheep of a highly respectable and industrious New England family, preferred the amiable and easy-going California atmosphere to the stiff and decorous living of his Boston ancestors. He became a thorough Californian, much to the disgust of his fellow-American Thomas O. Larkin, who said that Hinckley was "worthy of being a better man."<sup>32</sup> Hinckley was in partnership with Nathan Spear and Jacob P. Leese. He identified himself with Mexican California to the extent of becoming the only alcalde of American birth in Yerba Buena. His house, built about 1840, was his home until his death in 1846.

17. *General Mariano G. Vallejo's Residence*: The Bosqui map identifies this building as General M. G. Vallejo's house. The lot was granted to his brother Juan A. Vallejo in 1839. He, in turn, sold it to Mariano in 1841.<sup>33</sup> John Henry Brown and William Heath Davis, from whom we have the principal reports of that time, do not mention a house standing on that lot. In 1847 the lot was sold to Thomas O. Larkin. In the deed of sale, too, no mention is made of a building.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, General Vallejo certified the authenticity of Bosqui's map with his signature. It would seem that he, if anyone, should have known whether the building in question was his or not.

The Sandels drawing, it appears, is a correct reproduction of Yerba Buena in 1843. With the exception of No. 3 and No. 4 we have definitive corroborating evidence from other contemporary sources as to the position, shape, and size of the different dwellings represented. We may add that to our knowledge Sandels' View of Yerba Buena depicts *all* the buildings of that time, except Victor Prudon's abode and the small farm of Juana Briones de Miranda, both of which stood further to the north, so that they could not possibly have been visible from the position which the artist took.<sup>34</sup> Missing, too, is the "first real house" of Yerba Buena, the one Jacob P. Leese had put up in 1836, during the day preceding the fourth of July.<sup>35</sup> It was situated a little to the left or southeast of Richardson's lot on which the *Casa Grande* (No. 13) was built later. Considering that Leese's first house was a shaky, hastily erected structure and considering the general accuracy of Sandels' drawing, we may well conclude that by 1843, at a time when there was no room for historical sentimentalities, this "landmark" had already been torn down.

All in all there is no doubt that the sketch of *The Sea Town and Port Yerbabuena in San Francisco Bay in California* is genuine and accurate, whoever Dr. Sandels may have been.

#### NOTES

1. There are several primary and secondary sources dealing exclusively with the houses of Yerba Buena. As a matter of economy no footnote has been made when the interpretation is based upon one or more of the following sources: Jean-Jacques Vioget, "Plan of Yerba Buena in 1839" (Photostat in the California State Library, Sacramento, Calif.). This map has been reproduced in Zoeth S. Eldredge, *The Beginnings of San Francisco from the Expeditions of Anza 1774, to the City Charter of 1850* (San Francisco, 1912), 512, but without the buildings which appear on the above copy of the original drawing; William Heath Davis, "Map of San Francisco. With key to buildings, businesses and offices, about 1847" (Photostat in the California State Library, Sacramento, Calif.); *View of San Francisco, formerly Yerba Buena in 1846/47* (Lithograph by Bosqui Engraving Company, San Francisco), referred to in the text as *Bosqui map*; John Henry Brown, *Reminiscences and Incidents of Early Days of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1886), Appendix, "Buildings of San Francisco"; Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), V, 676-686. One of Bancroft's lengthy footnotes in small print, entitled "Buildings of San Francisco," contains much valuable information.

2. Bancroft, *History of California*, IV, 669-70.

3. Richardson's map is reproduced in Eldredge, *Beginnings of San Francisco*, 504.

4. The Elbert P. Jones Papers (MSS. in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Calif.) contain "Proposals to grade Pacific Street and filling up the Lagoon" of March 10, 1848.

5. The sketch and part of the manuscript have been published in the *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers*, III (1926), 58-98.

6. Jacob P. Leese Papers (MSS. in Bancroft Library, Berkeley). In one of the account books is a very detailed account, entitled "Cost of House of Jacob P. Leese," from which this information is taken. The house is also described in Mrs. Daniel Harvey (nee Eloise McLoughlin), "Account of the Life of John McLoughlin" (MS. in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley). Mrs. Harvey's first husband was William Rae, agent of the Hudson's Bay Company in Yerba Buena.
7. "Spanish Records Translated, also Index" (MS. in the San Francisco County Archives, San Francisco), 361.
8. William Heath Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California*, ed. Douglas S. Watson (San Francisco, 1929), 136.
9. Edward C. Kemble, *Yerba Buena, 1846* (San Francisco, 1935), 6. This is a reprint of Kemble's articles in the *Sacramento Daily Union*, Aug. 26, Sept. 16, and Oct. 14, 1871.
10. Alfred Wheeler, *Land Titles in San Francisco and the Laws affecting the same* (San Francisco, 1852), Index.
11. "Spanish Records Translated," 246. See also Jacob N. Bowman, "The Third Map of Yerba Buena," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXVI, 267.
12. Dean Albertson, "Jacob Primer Leese, Californio" (Master's Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1947), 84-85.
13. "Transfer Deeds, Liber A" (MS. in the San Francisco County Archives, San Francisco), 25.
14. Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California*, 185.
15. Thomas O. Larkin, "Account Books" (MSS. in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley), "List of bad debts."
16. Piper, as quoted in Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 680.
17. Henry D. Fitch, "Documentos para la historia de California" (MSS. in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley), Letter of Jean-Jacques Vioget to Fitch, May 17, 1841. See also "Spanish Records Translated," 311-312.
18. Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California*, 258.
19. Bancroft, *History of California*, "Pioneer Register."
20. Wheeler, *Land Titles in San Francisco*.
21. Bancroft, "Pioneer Register."
22. Wheeler, *Land Titles in San Francisco*.
23. *Ibid.*
24. "Transfer Deeds, Liber A," 50.
25. "Transfers of Deeds, A" (MS. in the San Francisco County Archives, San Francisco), 72. [Note: "Transfer Deeds, Liber A" and "Transfers of Deeds, A" are two different MSS.]
26. According to Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 669, the Custom House was 56 by 22 feet. The Hudson's Bay Company store was, in comparison, according to Davis, 60 by 24 feet.



27. G. W. Hendry and J. N. Bowman, "The Spanish and Mexican Adobe and other Buildings in the Nine San Francisco Bay Counties, 1776 to about 1850" (Typescript in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley), 1206a. This is an outstanding work of scholarship and it is a pity that it has not been published.

28. Cyrille Laplace, *Campagne de Circumnavigation de la frégate l'Artémise, pendant les années 1837, 1838, 1839 et 1840* (Paris, 1854), VI, 258.

29. Kemble, *Yerba Buena*, 1846, 6.

30. Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California*, 185.

31. *Ibid.*, 175.

32. *The Larkin Papers*, ed. George P. Hammond (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1953), IV, 330.

33. "Transfers of Deeds, A," 315.

34. Victor Prudon's house appears on Vioget's map. See note 1. For Juana Briones de Miranda see Jacob N. Bowman, "Juana Briones de Miranda," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, IXXXX (1957).

35. Frank Soulé *et. al.*, *Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), 169 ff.



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# Commercial Foundations of Political Interest in the Opening Pacific, 1789-1829

By SISTER MAGDALEN COUGHLIN, C.S.J.

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AMERICAN POSSESSION OF THE PACIFIC COAST, achieved in the 1840's, had roots deep in New England's maritime interests which gained the strength, through regional and national political attention, to span several decades and a continent. For after her West Indies commercial foundation was destroyed in the American break from the British Empire, New England's sharp need for new spheres of activity demanded and gained keen political attention.<sup>1</sup> This early enthusiasm of the young government for a new trade, scotched by tension that seethed around the French-English struggle, revived in the more defined terms made possible by two decades of American merchant activity in an opening Pacific. Thus the ever deepening involvement of the "Boston men" in the opening West Coast-China trade led first to isolated shouts in Congress and then to a growing clamor that rumbled through several decades and rose to a demanding crescendo in the 1840's. It becomes obvious upon examination that these early and sometimes isolated rumbles not only made themes familiar to the American ear but were an effective foundation for the success of the crescendo that led to possession.

From the beginning, the efforts of American merchants to answer the challenge of commercial survival had the support and interest of both prominent statesmen and the national government. Thus, Robert Morris, half owner of the *Empress of China*, the first American vessel to the Far East, wrote Jay that "In order to encourage others in the pursuit of this adventurous commerce, I am sending some ships to Canton in China."<sup>2</sup> John Adams got assurance from the Portuguese envoy in London that our ships would be welcomed at Macao and then wrote Jay to urge merchants "to push their commerce to the East Indies as fast and as far as it will go." And included in a letter from supercargo William Green to his employer, Champlin, and written in the hand of Charles Thomson, was permission for the United States vessels to use French Far East ports.<sup>3</sup> When Samuel Shaw, the supercargo of the *Empress of China*, returned from a successful voyage, Jay ordered that those parts of his report concerned with the new trade be

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published to provide information and spark further interest; Jay also sent word, "That the Secretary of Foreign Affairs inform Mr. Shaw that Congress feel peculiar satisfaction in the successful issue of this first effort of the citizens of America to establish a direct trade with China. . . ." <sup>4</sup> The combination of stark need for new markets with this aura of political favor engendered such an initial rush to the Far East that Richard H. Lee wrote Madison, "I fear that our Countrymen will overdo this business—For now there appears everywhere a Rage for East India Voyages." <sup>5</sup>

The way was opened, then, and the early hints of economic-political co-operation were evident. And now that there was concrete assurance of both welcoming markets and governmental interest, an entirely new sphere could be entered. For although these initial thrusts had been across the familiar Atlantic, now an exciting new invitation was glimpsed in the economic results of Cook's third voyage on which sea otter skins found on the Pacific coast were bought as great prizes in China. <sup>6</sup> And this invitation was answered in 1787 by an eager Boston sending Kendrick and Gray to the Pacific Coast with the *Lady Washington* and the *Columbia* in search for the answer to the baffling question of goods acceptable on the China market. <sup>7</sup> It would not take these shrewd Yankees long to catch the tinny note of ineffectiveness in Spanish threats as well as the fancy of the Cohong merchants, and thus become deeply involved in the seemingly endless possibilities of an opening Pacific. <sup>8</sup>

These merchants crowding around Cape Horn sailed in the assurance of both regional and national political interest. The efforts of the Essex Junto toward tariff and tonnage legislation, reflections of the New England merchant's struggle to stand free and firm in his new Far East markets, are scattered through the first sessions of Congress. <sup>9</sup> Now "The petition of Elias Hasket Derby . . . presented praying relief in the payment of duties on . . . teas" imported from China, memorials "praying that an additional duty may be laid on all goods imported into the United States from India and China in Foreign bottoms". . . and pleas for all-embracing aid <sup>10</sup> could be answered for the first time by the national government in comprehensive and satisfactory terms. The first tariff of July 4, 1789, therefore, not only favored Americans by granting a 10% discount for all goods entering on American vessels, but explicitly promoted Oriental trade. Taxes on tea, for example, were from 6 to 20 cents if direct from China in American vessels, but 8 to 26 if imported through Europe, and as much as 15 to 45 cents a pound if on foreign vessels. Duties on other Oriental goods entering on foreign vessels were also nearly twice as much if on American. Imports from China grew in these favorable circumstances from \$1,023,000 in 1795 to \$5,745,000 in 1810. And in Timothy Pickering's protest against the Spanish custom of calling the Pacific a closed sea, asserting that the navigation of that sea was too important to be renounced, there is an early hint that the national govern-

ment would not only nurture the young Pacific trade at home, but would also wage battle for its distant source.<sup>11</sup>

The alacrity of governmental response to these early merchant demands escaped neither the American nor the interested European who watched these surprisingly sure first steps into the Pacific with alarm. Thus a cycle that would revolve with ever greater frequency toward the 1840's and be a constant catalyst to government action was early set in motion. For the intensity of American merchant interest in the opening Pacific, an interest obviously nurtured by the new government, caused tremors of apprehension in other interested nations, which in turn caused greater American concern and then action. Thus the need for government attention deepened as it became necessary not only to legislate favorable trade regulations, but also to protect the areas of the young trade from foreign conquerors.

This situation was greatly intensified by the exaggerated image the cocky Yankee gave of his government's protection. The Englishman, John Meares, recorded that,

Mr. Gray, the master, informed us that he had sailed, in company with his consort, the *Columbia* . . . under the patronage of Congress, to examine the coast of America, and to open a fur trade between New England and this part of the American continent, in order to provide funds for their China ships. . . .<sup>12</sup>

In 1789 the Spanish Governor wrote the Commandant of San Francisco to take action "Should there arrive at the Port of San Francisco a ship named *Columbia*, which they say belongs to General Washington of the American states. . . ."<sup>13</sup> When the American, James Magee, was questioned in Valparaiso he answered "that we were fitted out from Boston, in New England, under the authority of the United States, and were bound to the N.W. coast."<sup>14</sup> This impression of the government interest<sup>15</sup> being responsible for the number and intensity of American traders and whalers in the Pacific was so strong that after one decade the Spanish Governor sounded the note that would be familiar by the 1840's when he warned his superiors of the "arrogant boldness" of the Americans, and added with keen foresight, "possibly this proud nation, constantly increasing its strength, may one day venture to measure it with Spain, and acquiring such knowledge of our seas and coasts may make California the object of its attack."<sup>16</sup> Although there were no official grounds for his apprehension at this point, the coast swarmed with traders who not only audaciously penetrated the economy and drew its dependency upon themselves,<sup>17</sup> but also cast covetous looks up and down the entire coast. William Shaler, the first of these New England Americans to catch the attention of the American public with an extended description of California, voiced the "arrogance" that haunted the Spanish:

The conquest of this country . . . would be absolutely nothing; it would fall without an effort of the most inconsiderable force. . . . In a word, it would be as easy to keep California in spite of the Spanish as it would be to wrest it from them in the first instance.<sup>18</sup>

These swaggering Yankee merchants, shouting not only their government's favor but also its possible future, naturally caught more than Spanish attention. As American statesmen, sensitive to international tremors, became apprehensive lest the valuable new trade areas be snatched away, a move toward Pacific ports by land was added to the thrust around Cape Horn. It was, therefore, this very spectre of foreign possession of these new routes to the Far East that first sparked Jefferson's famous interest in penetrating the Far West. Aroused by fear of both British and French interests, he wrote to George Rogers Clark from Paris in 1783 suggesting that Clark lead an expedition West, for "I find they have subscribed a very large sum of money in England for exploring the country from the Mississippi to California. . . . I am afraid they have thoughts of colonizing into that quarter."<sup>19</sup> In 1785, when he heard of the preparations at L'Orient for the expedition of La Pérouse to the Pacific, he urged Jay to send Captain John Paul Jones to spy.<sup>20</sup> It was to be expected, therefore, that Ledyard, who came to Paris with dreams of a China trade built on his recent voyage with Cook, would be received with great warmth by Jefferson, who agreed to arrange letters for Ledyard's abortive move across Eurasia to the Pacific.<sup>21</sup>

Nor did Jefferson's interest and objective waver upon his return to the United States and the establishment of his own administration. His purpose in encouraging the Philadelphia Philosophical Society to sponsor André Michaux's expedition West was clarified when he told Michaux he could ignore all the instructions "except, indeed, what is the first of all objects, that you seek for and pursue that route which shall form the shortest and most convenient communication between the higher parts of the Missouri and the Pacific Ocean."<sup>22</sup> When he saw an account of Alexander Mackenzie's trip across the continent, a veritable blueprint of British expansionism, he commented to Monroe, "However our present interest may restrain us within our own limits it is impossible not to look forward to distant times, . . ." and so he took up pen to prepare the secret request to Congress for exploration "even to the Western Ocean." His orders to Meriwether Lewis were no less definite. "The object of your mission is to explore the Missouri river, and such principal streams of it as by its course and communication with the water of the Pacific Ocean may offer the most direct and practicable water communication across this continent, for the purpose of commerce."<sup>23</sup>

That his fear of another nation's snatching up possession of Pacific ports remained a prominent catalyst to his action is clear in a letter to Lewis in which he quoted Mr. La Cépède at Paris as saying, "If your nation can



establish an easy communication by rivers, canals, and short portages between New York for example & . . . the mouth of the Columbia, what a route for the commerce of Europe, Asia, & America."<sup>24</sup> In turn, the essential role of government interest in American merchant success on the Pacific was explicit in Lewis's pleas, "If the government will only aid even on a limited scale the enterprise of her Citizens I am convinced that we shall soon derive the benefits of a most lucrative trade from this source."<sup>25</sup>

The impetus of both this new information and the obvious official interest in the commercially opening Pacific was expressed in definite terms in 1810 by the giant merchant, John Jacob Astor, who took the last major step toward Pacific ports before the war thwarted all efforts. It was this seemingly unsuccessful Astor venture that bridged the war years and upon which American merchants and statesmen later stood firm in their conviction of American rights on the Pacific. Astor's objective, a combination of thrusts by sea and land, was clear:

. . . to make an establishment at the mouth of Columbia river, which should serve as a place of depot, and give further facilities for conducting a trade across this continent to that river, and from thence, on the range of Northwest coast &c., to Canton, in China, and from thence to the United States. . . .<sup>26</sup>

J. Q. Adams later wrote Rush that Astoria had been settled under the patronage of the United States.<sup>27</sup> But although Jefferson told Astor that he would help him by "every reasonable patronage and facility in the power of the executive,"<sup>28</sup> he found there were constitutional objections to any official participation of the United States. Still there was open government sympathy for this move to establish Pacific ports.<sup>29</sup> When the *Tonquin* sailed September 8, 1810, it was convoyed by the U.S. *Constitution* and captained by Jonathan Thorne, on furlough from the U.S. Navy for this purpose.<sup>30</sup>

But it was after the war that Astor's establishment gained tremendous significance and captured the closest government attention. Then it became the keystone of the American claim to Oregon. Thus, in his early instructions to the envoys at Ghent, Secretary of State Monroe showed a vision of the sea when he reminded them that when the war opened there was an American post at the mouth of the Columbia, that if it had been taken it was to be returned, and under no circumstances should the British have it.<sup>31</sup> A few months later he told Anthony St. John Baker, the British minister in Washington, that "the President intended immediately to reoccupy the post at the mouth of the Columbia. . . ."<sup>32</sup>

The frustration of these first moves toward reoccupation are largely explainable by the great commercial importance the opening Pacific had assumed and the myth that the Columbia River was a valuable port.<sup>33</sup> The overpowering importance of Pacific ports in the Oregon settlement is clear

in the mutual occupation clause of the Treaty of London.<sup>34</sup> The persistent government concern and hopeful consideration for the future in the Pacific remained constant and clear not only in J. B. Prevost's mission to reestablish American occupation but also in his assertion that:

The principal object of the President, in sending me thus far, was to obtain such information of the place, its access, and its commercial importance, as might enable him to submit to the consideration of Congress, measures for the protection and the extension of the establishment.<sup>35</sup>

He reflected interest in the "extension of the establishment" by his open bid for the California coast, reminiscent of both Shaler's vision and Spanish fear.<sup>36</sup>

After the war, therefore, the government had picked up the scattered skeins of merchant interest in the Pacific acting as Astor's protector. But now the pace quickened as a few farsighted statesmen reflected compounding economic interests<sup>37</sup> by carrying this standard of Pacific ports into first international and then national political arenas where through the next decade it would gain enough champions to become a full-blown issue.

A chance for a major step was seen and grasped in the Spanish-United States settlements of 1818-1819, and the resulting Adams-Onís Treaty is understandable only in the context and interplay of Spanish apprehension and acknowledged American desire for Pacific ports. All this American attention and growing strength in the Pacific had naturally deepened the concern of a Spain whose weakening position continued to be floutingly exploited by persistent and wily Yankee traders. Thus the Viceroy of Mexico was ordered by Spain in 1818 to establish a fort at the mouth of the Columbia River, "it being your responsibility to justify this project as you find it most convenient."<sup>38</sup> Onís assured his Spanish superiors that,

it is of the highest importance that it be occupied as soon as possible, with the purpose of protecting the possessions and the commerce of the Monarchy in that region, as the United States will not delay in carrying out its project of opening a route by that river to the South Sea.<sup>39</sup>

When the frantic talks over Florida began in July, 1818, therefore, John Q. Adams, a major champion of the sea, entered the list for Pacific ports and drew in those talks the line which constituted the first major and explicit move of the United States government toward the actual possession of Pacific ports.<sup>40</sup> The impact of this new American policy was reflected in Onís's answer to Adam's demand of a border beginning at the Sabine, going up the Red River to 41° in the Snow Mountains and thence west to the sea:

What you add respecting the extension of the same line beyond the Missouri along the Spanish possessions to the Pacific Ocean exceeds, by its magnitude and its transcendency, all former demands and pretensions started by the United States.<sup>41</sup>

In the ensuing negotiations it became increasingly clear that both Onís and Adams considered this western line of great importance—that Pacific ports were a key issue. For not only did Adams see Onís's inability to cede anything on the Pacific as the chief obstacle to any agreement, but Adam's own clear vision of the sea can be gleaned in his reported refusal to compromise demands.<sup>42</sup>

Nor was there any question about the motives involved, for when Onís offered a line at the Columbia River itself, he trusted this would be satisfactory to the President, "as it presents the means of realizing his great plan of extending a navigation from the Pacific to the remotest points of the Northern States and of the ocean. . . ." <sup>43</sup> It was made clear also that these American merchant demands would be heard. For in less than three months, when his instructions were still too vague, Onís wrote Irujo that he needed instructions to go from the Red River to the Snowy Mountains and thence to 41° on the Pacific "and it is doubtful that this government will yield an inch from these limits."<sup>44</sup>

The final settlement also laid bare the pre-eminent importance of the Pacific Coast, for while Spain had no means of effectively exploiting its claim to the Northwest Coast, it used it to good purpose in trading an almost abandoned Florida for a questionable but potentially threatening U.S. claim in Texas. Onís strengthened American animosity toward the cession of Texas by his remark that the treaty was in reality an exchange "of one small province for another of double the extent, richer and more fertile."<sup>45</sup> Yet Adams was not only proud of the results on the Pacific, but obviously saw this as only the first step onto the coast:

. . . the world shall be familiarized with the idea of considering our proper dominion to be the continent of North America . . . it [is] still more unavoidable that the remainder of the continent should ultimately be ours. But it is very lately that we have distinctly seen this ourselves; very lately that we have avowed the pretension of extending to the South Sea;<sup>46</sup>

Adams' comment to Rush a few years later revealed not only his deepening conviction of American right to Pacific ports but also his assurance that he was no longer alone in his conviction:

It is not imaginable . . . that *any* European Nation should entertain the project of settling a *Colony* on the Northwest Coast of America. . . . That the United States should . . . is pointed out by the finger of Nature, and has been for years a subject of serious deliberation in Congress.<sup>47</sup>

The New England commercial orientation for his maritime demands stood starkly clear when in answer to the Russian imperialistic threat Adams pointed to the New England merchant who had plied this sea "from the

period of the existence of the United States as an independent nation . . .” as the rock foundation of his conviction that the first place in the opening Pacific belonged to the American.<sup>48</sup> And his answer to British overtures clearly showed his unwillingness to bind acquiring American hands by co-operation with Canning against European intervention in former Spanish colonies. The Monroe message itself, therefore, was only a synthesis of commercially orientated policies already in operation.

But Adams had acquired only the Spanish claims. The English not only had an excellent claim to the Pacific Northwest, but had the interest and strength to protect it.<sup>49</sup> The United States government therefore could not rest in its quickening fight to protect the Pacific ports New England demanded. Thus Adams’s succession of international thrusts to gain the right to ports were now supplemented nationally by a second major champion, John Floyd of Virginia, who introduced a bill to actually occupy the Columbia River and establish a territorial government over the whole Pacific Northwest.<sup>50</sup>

New England’s maritime influence was again so evident that Dickerson, a major enemy of the bill, knew he had struck home when he challenged, “What is the immediate pressure for such a force at this time? To protect our ships engaged in the whaling and fishing, and in the fur trade, and taking of sea otters.”<sup>51</sup> This commercial keynote in a drive for ports in an opening Pacific, a debate that lasted the decade, was sounded in Floyd’s first report as Chairman of the Committee on the occupation of Oregon:

. . . the Columbia, in a commercial point of view, [is] a position of the utmost importance; the fisheries on that coast, its open sea, and its position in regard to China, which offers the best market for the vast quantities of furs taken in those regions, and our increasing trade throughout that ocean, seems to demand immediate attention.<sup>52</sup>

This argument was reiterated and amplified by many, but by none more convincingly than Francis Baylies of Massachusetts, for “The objects which the bill contemplated were of much importance to a position of the country which he represented. . . .”<sup>53</sup> He saw the government protection of the Pacific trade as essential for the “most extensive whale fishery in the world . . .” which now required a port on the shores of the Pacific.<sup>54</sup>

The all-embracing importance of ports in this political joust was again thrown into bold relief by the insignificance of the land as expressed by Robert Winthrop’s shout, “We need ports on the Pacific. As to land, we have millions of acres of better land still unoccupied on this side of the mountains.”<sup>55</sup> The whole Congress seemed to agree. For while it refused to set aside the bill, the third section concerning land grants to settlers was struck out with great force, and any attempt to salvage the establishment of a territorial government was lost.



But ports without the assurance of government protection were not enough. Drayton was only one to cut through the arguments of climate, territorial government, and endless others to insist that the only consideration of Congress should be to determine whether or not the area was of sufficient value to Americans to demand unflinching efforts to acquire it. His conclusion was that, "Upon these topics there is no diversity of sentiment; protection ought, therefore, to be given. . . ." <sup>57</sup> Floyd repeatedly insisted that "the best way to settle a new country was to leave it to the enterprise of private individuals, merely extending to them the arm of national protection." <sup>58</sup> But the time had come, he said at the end of 1828, for the government not only to protect American merchants but to grasp these ports. His reason was the same that had consistently dominated American government interest in the Pacific Coast since the Revolution—Pacific ports for China trade:

Our property in that ocean is too vast, and the value of the fur trade from those regions too great, longer to remain without the aid and protecting hand of this Government. . . . If we neglect this opportunity, the loss to our commerce and our country will be irreparable. The trade, as connected with that coast, is so blended with two other branches of commerce, that it is almost impossible to separate them . . . the Northwest, as it is called, the South Sea, and the Canton trade. <sup>59</sup>

But it soon became clear that by this time Floyd represented more than just eastern Massachusetts' established interests in Pacific ports. Thus Benton (with whom Floyd was in close contact through the whole decade of battle) and Floyd himself both wrote of the influence of Ramsey Crooks of New York and Russell Farnham of Massachusetts, who had been associated with Astor in his Astoria project. Both Crooks and Farnham had lived at the same Washington hotel as Floyd and Benton during the period of debate, and it was from them that Floyd gained "many interesting facts relative to this country." <sup>60</sup> Floyd held out the tempting assurance that Astor was even now "ready to vest in that pursuit, several hundred thousand dollars . . . as soon as this republic will extend to her citizens . . . protection." <sup>61</sup>

The sources of rumbles for the coast were not only becoming more numerous, but also more varied. By 1824 Floyd could tap interest in Pacific ports far removed from New England and New York and could refer to precedent in his insistence that these established commercial interests deserved governmental attention:

. . . I am also informed, that other large capitalists in the Western Country, and in Virginia are willing to embark in the same pursuit: among these may be named, Louis A. Tarascoon, of Shippingpot, Ken. known . . . as one of the most accomplished merchants . . . whose . . . commercial views have been useful, and deserve the most respectful attention of the government. <sup>62</sup>

As the demand for Pacific ports emerged in the 1820's into a major national issue, Massachusetts' voices were not only led by a Virginian's but supple-

mented by those from places as far distant as Kentucky, Maryland, South Carolina, Ohio, and Louisiana.<sup>63</sup>

There were the same interested glances down the coast and out to sea that had characterized the three decades of American activity in the Pacific. Trimble argued that "By the establishment of a military post at the mouth of the Oregon . . . we may command the trade of China, Japan, and East Indies and the North Pacific. That ocean is the richest sea in the world, and is as yet without a master."<sup>64</sup> With his recommendations that posts be established without delay, Jessup commented "The establishment might be considered as a great bastion, commanding the whole line of coast to the North and South. . . ."<sup>65</sup>

But for all the fight and vision the bill died in the Senate, an indication that the arguments of its enemies were still more convincing. The fear of infringing on the renewed joint occupation agreement with England, the accusation that the trade drained both specie and population needed in the East, and especially that the Pacific Coast was too far from American occupied territory to be either conveniently reached or a permanent part of the Union<sup>66</sup> were repeated over and over. And these would not be satisfactorily answered until even deeper economic involvement demanded further diplomacy.<sup>67</sup>

But to imply that these early political champions of Pacific ports were defeated would not tell the whole story. It seems possible that they had no intention of actually passing the Floyd bill, for parts of it were an obvious open violation of the joint occupation treaties with England. The real object seems to have been to keep the matter before the nation in preparation for further negotiations and a new treaty. Everett intimated this when in early 1829 he feared "an impression should go abroad among the people of the United States, that the territory in question was of little consideration in the judgment of the House. If . . . such a result should be produced, the question on the territory would stand worse than if it had never been agitated."<sup>68</sup>

If the object had been interest, success was obvious by the end of 1828 when Richardson said, "Another, and yet another company are asking similar aid and protection."<sup>69</sup> For not only did Kelley and Wyeth of New England step forward when Floyd retired from the fight, but there had been memorials from groups in Maryland, Massachusetts, Louisiana, and Ohio urging the bill be passed so they might go to the Oregon coast—but with government protection.<sup>70</sup> In the early 1820's, the *Niles' Register* caught the pulse of the push and transmitted it to the public:

A settlement at the mouth of the *Columbia* has been seriously advocated in Congress, and will soon be made under the sanction of government. . . .<sup>71</sup>

The same note was sounded by the *Ohio State Journal* a few years later and with even clearer commercial emphasis

One fourth part of this territory, that part which contains the Oregon harbor, will, at a future day, enter the Republican Confederacy as Oregon State; and the City of Oregon, will arise on its banks, which shall rival New York or Philadelphia in their commerce and population. Then the busy hum of commerce and the shouts of free-men, shall re-echo from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans.<sup>72</sup>

Thus if circumstances will hamstrung possession, by 1828 Reed of Massachusetts could without too much exaggeration claim the interest of the whole country when he sponsored a survey of the coast and harbors of the Pacific:

Those engaged in the fur trade, and all other commerce in the Pacific, which is now very considerable, and is rapidly increasing, are deeply interested in the resolutions now under consideration. Commerce, the farming interest, and manufacturing interest, are all deeply interested in the safe navigation of those vast seas; in fact, our whole country is directly or indirectly interested.<sup>73</sup>

And so the New England merchant's cry for government interest in his move into the Pacific had been heard and heeded through three decades. After the dynamic activity and vibrant interest of the first decade had been suspended by the War of 1812, Americans had turned their attention west with an eagerness that rapidly widened and deepened economic investment. And these new interests were accompanied by demands for further political action. Therefore, by the time Jackson's administration burst upon the country, many of the factors that would combine to demand first even greater government attention, and then government moves toward possession, were already present. Surely by the end of the 1820's the New England merchant had made his case clear. By this time, too, there was no question about the value of the China trade nor of its dependence on Pacific ports. The Boston merchant, then, had planted his roots in the Pacific firmly, and as these roots produced ever greater promise, he made stronger demands with assurance that they would not only be understood by his countrymen but answered by his government.

#### NOTES

1. Henry F. Howe, *Salt Rivers of the Massachusetts Shore* (New York, 1951), 232-233; Samuel W. Woodhouse, "Log and Journal of the Ship *United States* on a Voyage to China in 1784," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LV (April, 1931), 225-226. That Americans had clearly assessed their situation and were satisfied with their response to it was clear as early as 1801. "The people of the United States are, perhaps, more distinguished than those of Europe as a people of business . . . , the habit has grown out of the necessities of their situation. . . ." *The American Review and Literary Journal*, I (January, 1801), Preface. *American Periodical Series* (1800-1825), Reel 3.

2. The *Harriet* of Hingham had set out earlier than *Empress of China* but had exchanged ginseng for tea when met by British merchants at Cape Good Hope: Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts 1783-1860* (Boston, 1941), 44. On Morris to Jay see Woodhouse, "Log and Journal of the Ship *United States*," 225.

3. Adams to Jay, Grosvenor Square, Westminster, November 5, 1785, Charles F. Adams, ed., *The Works of John Adams* (New York, 1853), VIII, 342. See also James Duncan Phillips, *Salem and the Indies* (Boston, 1947), 45. William Green to Champlin, Boston, May 18, 1784, Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Commerce of Rhode Island 1775-1800*, in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, LXX, 207, n. 1. (Herein-after cited as M.H.S. Colls.) Charles Thomson was Secretary of the Continental Congress, 1774-July 23, 1789, who in the absence of the President often acted as an executive.

4. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XXVIII (June 9, 1785), 442-443; XXIX (September 1, 1785), 673-674. See also *Papers of the Continental Congress, Despatch Book*, IV, (December 21, 1788), 35. Reel 197, Item. 185.

5. Richard Henry Lee to James Madison, New York, May 30, 1785, James Custer Ballagh, ed., *The Letters of Richard Henry Lee* (New York, 1911), II, 366.

6. The *Empress of China* was to have gone by the Cape Horn route, probably on the basis of information supplied by John Ledyard. Although William Duer, one of Morris's partners, refused this plan as an unnecessary danger, one or two of the other six ships being outfitted by the company were to go by the Horn route to the Pacific Northwest. This plan was also abandoned, however. Clarence Ver Steeg, "Financing and Outfitting the First United States Ship to China," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXII (March, 1953), 5-6. John Ledyard's account of Cook's voyage was published in Hartford in 1783: see Merrill Jensen, *The New Nation: A History of the United States during the Confederation 1781-1789* (New York, 1950), 209.

7. The protective interest of the government in the Kendrick and Gray voyage was clear. Gray not only carried a letter with the signature of Governor John Hancock, but also one from Washington and Jefferson: Stewart H. Holbrook, *The Columbia* (New York, 1956), 30. Kendrick and Gray also carried letters from the Spanish minister to the United States recommending them to the Viceroy of New Spain: Charles H. Carey, *A General History of Oregon Prior to 1861* (Portland, 1946), I, 86. That both the importance of finding exchangeable goods and the consequent change in economy was clear at the opening of the nineteenth century is evident in statements like "Till lately China was wont to receive more of silver and of valuable raw material, for those of its exports . . ." in "Sketch of Commercial, Agricultural and Manufacturing Economy of China," *Connecticut Magazine*, I (January, 1801), 23. *American Periodical Series*, Reel 15. Carey suggests that the first vessel to the Northwest Coast to trade for furs for the China market was the *Eleanora* under Captain Metcalf in the summer of 1788: *A General History of Oregon*, I, 85.

8. By the early 1790's the route to China via Vancouver was firmly established. When the *Columbia* returned to Boston in 1790, fourteen American ships had already sailed for China: Albert Bushnell Hart, *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts Colony, Province and State* (New York, 1927-1928), III, 535-537. Bancroft records 108 American vessels on the Northwest Coast from 1790 to 1818 but Dulles shows 144 from 1804 to 1809. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast* (San Francisco, 1884), I, 359; Foster Rhea Dulles, *The Old China Trade* (Boston, 1930), 106. Merk quotes British records as showing 214 American vessels on trading voyages to China and India in 1818. Frederick Merk, *Albert Gallatin and the Oregon Problem* (Cambridge, 1950), 43. Thomas H. Perkins sent chiefly to China via the Northwest Coast—by the early nineteenth century no private firm in the world did more business in the China trade. William B. Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England*



1620-1789 (Boston, 1890), II, 822; see also Sturgis, "The Northwest Fur Trade and the Indians of the Oregon Country 1788-1830," *The Old South Leaflets*, IX, no. 219, 9.

9. The plea for individual states to relinquish power to regulate trade to the central government recurs frequently. *Journal of the Continental Congress*, XXVI (February 6, 1784), 71; XXVI (April 22, 1784), 270-271, XXX (January 2, 1786), 7. For the intensity of these efforts see Adams to Jay, Bath Hotel, Westminster, June 26, 1785, *The Works of John Adams*, VIII, 273; Adams to Jay, July 19, 1785, *ibid.*, VIII, 273-275, 281-283. A proposal to create an American company comparable to the East India Company was voted down in 1786, however, for Congress held it better if commercial relations be carried on by individuals. Dorothy O. Johansen and Charles M. Gates, *Empire of the Columbia: A History of the Pacific Northwest* (New York, 1957), 58.

10. *Annals of Congress*, 1st Cong., 3rd sess. (June 23, 1790), 1703. *Ibid.* (January 20, 1791), 1921-1922. A typical example of general pleas is a memorial of merchants trading to India and China "praying such encouragement and protection as in their wisdom Congress shall deem expedient, . . ." *Ibid.* (January 24, 1791), 1792; see also 1st Cong., 1st sess. (March 1, 1792), 98; 2nd Cong., 2nd sess. (January 22, 1793), 834; 3rd Cong., 1st sess. (May 16, 1794), 100-101.

11. For growth of imports see Shu-Lun Pan, *The Trade of the United States with China* (New York, 1924), 8; also Emory P. Johnson, *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States* (Washington, 1915), II, 16-29. On Pickering's protest see Roy Nichols, *Advance Agents of American Destiny* (Philadelphia, 1941), 56.

12. From the narrative of Meares, September 17, 1788, Robert Greenhow, *The History of Oregon and California and the Other Territories on the North-west Coast of North America* (Boston, 1847), 181.

13. Pedro Fages to Josef Arguello, May 13, 1789, quoted in Cardinal Goodwin, *The Trans-Mississippi West (1803-1853) A History of Its Acquisition and Settlement* (New York, 1922), 424.

14. "Observations on the Islands of Juan Fernandez, Massafuero, and St. Ambrose, in the South Pacific Ocean, and the Coast of Chili, in South America. Extracted from the Journal of Mr. Bernard Magee, first Officer of the Ship *Jefferson*, in the late Voyage around the Globe," M.H.S. *Colls.*, IV, 251.

15. The early establishment of a consular system by the federal government to nurture developing trade was cause of much foreign comment. Although the first large group—fifteen—was appointed in June, 1790, Samuel Shaw had been made consul to Canton six years earlier. When the War of 1812 stopped much trade, all consulates in the East were abandoned except Canton. Seward W. Livermore, "Early Commercial and Consular Relations with the East Indies," *The Pacific Historical Review*, XV (March, 1946), 34-41. Nichols holds a consular system was not formally established until 1792: Nichols, *Advanced Agents of American Destiny*, 31.

16. Quoted in George Lockhard Rives, *The United States and Mexico, 1821-1848* (New York, 1913), II, 45.

17. This was especially true in California where settlements, cut off from Spanish supply and thirsty for manufactured goods, sought American merchants. It is interesting to note that the first export to the "Northwest Coast of America (October 1, 1790—September 30, 1791)" suggests the same pattern—for such things as "yellow and Green Earthen ware," axes, hoes, cooking utensils, dry goods were listed. *American State Papers, Commerce and Navigation*, I, 12.

18. William Shaler, "Journal of a Voyage Between China and the North-western Coast of America Made in 1804," *American Register*, III (1808), 161. In connection with Shaler's Journal see "Krusenstern's Voyage and Researches," *The North American Review*, XXV (July, 1827), 1-32; *ibid.* (October, 1827), 458-464.
19. Jefferson to George Rogers Clark, December 4, 1783, included in a letter to John Marshall: Reuben Thwaites, ed., *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806* (New York, 1904), VII, 193. For a variety of analysis and interpretation see Goodwin, *Trans-Mississippi West*, 32; Richard Van Alstyne, *The Rising American Empire* (New York, 1960), 79; and Joseph Schaefer, "The Western Ocean as a Determinant in Oregon History," in *The Pacific Ocean in History*, eds. H. Morse Stephens and Herbert E. Bolton (New York, 1917), 291.
20. Jefferson to Jay, Marseilles, August 14, 1785, Paul L. Ford, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1895) VII, 373. See also Abraham P. Nasatir, *French Activities in California* (Stanford, 1945), 39, n. 5. Carey says on this point that La Pérouse was outfitted in Brest and it was here Jefferson sent Jones: Carey, *A General History of Oregon*, I, 110.
21. Jefferson to Ezra Stiles, Paris, September 1, 1786, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, IV, 298; Jefferson to Charles Thomson, Paris, September 20, 1787, *ibid.*, IV, 447-448; "Autobiography," *ibid.*, I, 94-95. See also Jared Sparks, "The Life of John Ledyard," *North American Review*, XXVII (July, 1828), 363-365.
22. *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, VI, 160. He pointed to the same object for Michaux as he later would for Lewis, "... chief objects of your journey are to find the shortest and most convenient route of communication between the United States and the Pacific Ocean. . . ." Instructions to André Michaux, January, 1793, *ibid.*, VI, 159. This project was abortive, however, for it required collaboration with France and fulfillment of the alliance of 1778 to which the Washington administration was opposed: Van Alstyne, *The Rising American Empire*, 80.
23. Jefferson to Monroe, November 24, 1801, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, VIII, 105. "Confidential Message on Expedition to the Pacific," January 18, 1803, *ibid.*, VIII, 201. Instructions to Lewis, Washington, June 20, 1803, *ibid.*, VIII, 194. The immediate recognition of the value of information received from Lewis and Clark and Freeman inspired the establishment of a Committee on Western Waters which recommended that money be appropriated annually for surveys: *Annals of Congress*, 9th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 22, 1806), 193-194.
24. Jefferson to Lewis, Washington, July 15, 1803, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, VIII, 200.
25. Quoted in Schaefer, "The Western Ocean as a Determinant in Oregon History," in *The Pacific Ocean in History*, 290.
26. Astor to the Secretary of State, New York, January 4, 1823, *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess. (1822-1823), Appendix, 1211. An even greater nationalism was soon attributed to Astor, who "knowing that it was the wish of the government of the United States to divert the trade from the British to American hands, undertook to accomplish this object with his own arm." *Hunt's Merchant Magazine*, III (August, 1840), 197. An attempt had been made to establish a trading post on the Columbia earlier by the Winship brothers of Boston in 1810; they had, however, been driven out by the antagonism of the Indians: Carey, *A General History of Oregon*, I, 172-173.
27. Adams to Rush, Washington, July 22, 1823, *Annals of Congress*, 19th Cong., 1st

sess., 30. It is interesting to note that the little schooner brought for coasting trade was called the *Dolly*: F. W. Howay, "The Fur Trade in Northwestern Development," in *The Pacific Ocean in History*, 278.

28. Quoted in Bernard De Voto, *The Course of Empire* (Boston, 1952), 538.

29. Lawrence F. Abbott, "New York and Astoria," *The Washington Historical Quarterly*, XVIII (January, 1927), 21. Also see Astor to Monroe, New York, February, n. d., 1813, *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess., 1213-1215. Irving makes it clear that Jefferson and his whole cabinet warmly approved of Astor's plan: Washington Irving, *Astoria or Anecdotes of an Enterprise Beyond the Rocky Mountains*, ed. Edgeley W. Todd (Norman, Oklahoma, 1964), 33. Astor's letter to Jefferson, New York, March 14, 1812, is especially revealing on this point. "The Government, say the President and heads of Executive Departments, are well informed of the situation of the American Fur Company, as no step of importance has been taken without their previous approbation. . . ." Quoted in Kenneth Wiggins Porter, *John Jacob Astor Business Man* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), Document 57, I, 508. This government interest in the Astor project was widely known. An article in *Hunt's Magazine* noted that "he received strong assurance of countenance from the cabinet of Mr. Jefferson and promises to support the enterprise in any proper way." *Hunt's Merchant Magazine*, III (August, 1840), 197.

30. Cox, *Columbia River*, 50-51, n. 2; Carey, *A General History of Oregon*, I, 175. Also, when, through the influence of Gallatin and Madison, Astor's son-in-law, Bentzon, went to arrange Northwest trade with Russia, he gave such a strong impression that "he was going to Russia on business deeply interesting to the United States" that the stateroom of the envoy being sent to Denmark, the original purpose of the voyage, was given Bentzon: Porter, *John Jacob Astor Business Man*, I, 194-196.

31. Monroe's Instructions to Ghent, March 22, 1814, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations* III, 731. Although Duncan McDougall, an Astor employee, had sold out to the Northwest Company when he heard of the war, when the Englishman, Captain Black, came with the *Raccoon* he took formal possession. It was this act of a perhaps drunken Black that justified the United States' demand of restoration under the terms of Ghent: Cox, *The Columbia River*, xxvi. See also Philip C. Brooks, *Diplomacy and the Borderlands: The Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819* (Berkeley, 1939), 52, and Merk, *Albert Gallatin and the Oregon Problem*, 24.

32. Monroe to Anthony St. John Baker, July 19, 1815, Philip C. Brooks, "The Pacific Coast's First International Boundary Delineation, 1816-1819," *Pacific Historical Review*, III (March, 1934), 64. During the war, Astor, after several requests and some pressure, got assurance the *John Adams* would be sent to protect Astoria, but in July, 1813, the situation on the Great Lakes demanded that the ship go there: Porter, *John Jacob Astor Business Man*, I, 219.

33. Richard Van Alstyne, *American Diplomacy in Action* (Stanford, 1944), 494-495. Although seamen had early recognized the hazards of the Columbia River estuary, these hazards were not generally realized for some time. John Quincy Adams, for instance, was convinced only in 1822 by "Bill" Sturgis's series of letters in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*: Norman Graebner, *Empire on the Pacific* (New York, 1955), 29; Merk, *Albert Gallatin and the Oregon Problem*, 22, n. 21. Still President Adams knew he reflected the Senate and the temper of the nation when he demanded the 49°. "One inch of ground (beyond the 49th parallel) yielded on the North-West coast . . . would be certain to meet the reprobation of the Senate." Adams to Gallatin, March 20, 1827, *ibid.*, 10.

34. "... that any country claimed by either party, on the Northwest coast of America, west of the Stony mountains, shall, together with its harbors, bays, and creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open for the term of ten years, from the date of the convention, to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of the two powers." *Annals of Congress*, 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 21, 1824), 40. It was the continuance of the popular idea of the value of the Columbia River as a port that plagued every move of the United States government toward settling possession. Both in the original settlement and again in the 1826 renewal of the joint occupation the English therefore would not accept the 49°. A clear expression of this attitude is in a letter of George Canning to Liverpool in which he points to the trade between the Coast and China as the "most susceptible and rapid augmentation and improvement . . . We cannot yet enter into this trade, on account of monopoly of the E(ast) I(ndia) C(ompany). But . . . that monopoly will cease, and though at that point neither you nor I shall be where we are to answer for our deeds, I should not like to leave my name affixed to an instrument by which England would have forgone the advantage of an immense direct intercourse." Quoted in Joseph Schaefer, "The British Attitude toward the Oregon Question, 1815-1846," *American Historical Review*, XVI (January, 1911), 292. Benton spoke of Canning's effort to block any American attempt to occupy Oregon Territory: *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess. (February 17, 1823), 249. These mutually exclusive East India Company and Northwest Company monopolies referred to by Canning actually played into the hands of the developing American Northwest-China trade, for Americans carried a lot of the English furs: J. B. Prevost to Secretary of State, Monterey, New California, November 11, 1818, *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess., 1209. After unsuccessful attempts to use English ships in the trade, Canadians began dealing through Thomas Perkins of Boston after 1815: Marion O'Neil, "The Maritime Activities of the Northwest Company, 1813-1821," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XXI (October, 1930), 243-267. See also Howay, "The Fur Trade in Northwestern Development," in *The Pacific Ocean in History*, 279.

35. Benton repeating what Prevost had said in 1818: *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess. (February 17, 1823), 249. Actually Prevost was taken from Lima to Astoria in a British warship, the *Blossom*: *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess., 1206-1210; *ibid.*, 246-248.

36. "The port of St. Francis is one of the most convenient, extensive, and safe in the world, wholly without defence, and in the neighborhood of a feeble, diffused, and disaffected population. Under all these circumstances, may we not infer views to the early possession of this harbor, and ultimately to the sovereignty of the entire California?" Prevost to Secretary of State Monroe, November 11, 1818, *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess., 1209-1210. Not only was information on Prevost requested by Johnson of Louisiana, 17th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 18, 1822), 430, but the above letter was read into the *Annals of Congress*, and Monroe's answer and the documents accompanying it were published in the *Niles' Register*, May 4, 1822.

37. British records show that in 1818, 214 American vessels were on trading voyages to China and India: Merk, *Albert Gallatin and the Oregon Problem*, 43. The *Niles' Register*, October 30, 1819, noted that whaling was bigger than ever now, with nearly 100 ships on the Northwest Coast from New England. On August 14, 1819, the *Niles' Register* reported that 60 American ships were at that moment in the Pacific. One crew returning from the Pacific reported that they had met 57 American and 6 French whalers: *Niles' Register*, January 29, 1820. As early as 1820 a Baltimore engineer, Robert Mills, the designer of the Washington Monument, pushed for a railroad be-



tween the Missouri and the Columbia rivers; the economic possibilities were therefore starkly clear: Oscar Osborn Winther, *The Transportation Frontier, Trans-Mississippi West 1865-1890* (New York, 1964), 98.

38. Quoted in Brooks, "The Pacific Coast's First International Boundary Delineation, 1816-1819," 70.

39. Onís to Pizarro, March 3, 1818, *ibid.*

40. In his Diary of February 22, 1819, Adams noted "The first proposal of it in this negotiation was my own. . . . I first introduced it in the written proposal of 31st October last. . . ." Allan Nevins, ed., *The Diary of John Quincy Adams, 1794-1845* (New York, 1951), Feb. 22, 1819, 211-12. For Adams's proposal see *Annals of Congress*, 15th Cong. 2nd sess., Appendix, 1903. See also *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV, 530-31.

41. Onís to Adams, November 16, 1818, *Annals of Congress*, 15th Cong., 2nd sess., 1903. Until November, 1818, Onís had orders to insist on a line up the Missouri River to 49°, eliminating the United States from the Northwest. But Spain did not gain British support in 1818 and thus the orders were relaxed: Van Alstyne, *American Diplomacy in Action*, 479. That Spain was familiar with American hopes, however, was clear in a memorandum of 1817 by Narcisco Heredia, Ferdinand VII's expert on American affairs, in which he made it clear Spain could not expect the United States to give up all of Louisiana, especially the Columbia River, for American plans for the fur trade there were obvious: Brooks, "The Pacific's First International Boundary Delineation, 1816-1819," 67.

42. The position of the western line in the negotiations is clear in a letter of Onís to Pizarro, October 31, 1818, *ibid.*, 67-69, 77.

43. Onís to Adams, January 16, 1819, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III, 615-616. Also see *Annals of Congress*, 15th Cong., 2nd sess., 2110.

44. Onís to Irujo, January 4, 1819, Brooks, "The Pacific Coast's First International Boundary Delineation, 1816-1819," 71.

45. William R. Manning, "Texas and the Boundary Issue, 1822-1829," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XVII (January, 1914), 218. Onís's view was not totally shared in Spain, however, for the treaty was not ratified for two years. It was thought Spain had sacrificed too much, especially on the Pacific: Brooks, "The Pacific Coast's First International Boundary, 1816-1819," 75.

46. Charles Francis Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* (Philadelphia, 1875), IV, 438-439. See also Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny A Study of Nationalist Expansion in American History* (Baltimore, 1935), 61; and Carey, *A General History of Oregon*, II, 424. That Adams could have had the 41° boundary is shown in a letter of Onís to Irujo, February 8, 1819, in which he said he would ask for another adjustment on the Pacific "and if this should not be obtained, to sign the treaty in these terms (41°)," Brooks, "The Pacific Coast's First International Boundary. Delineation, 1816-1819," . . . 73. On February 9, however, Adams, against his will, did accept the 42° for Monroe even favored the 43°: Van Alstyne, *American Diplomacy in Action*, 479-480. It was known in the United States that Adams could have had "much more territory than he did." *Annals of Congress*, 16th Cong., 1st sess. (January 27, 1820), 948.

47. Adams to Rush, July 22, 1823, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, V, 4447. See also *Annals of Congress*, 19th Cong., 1st sess., Appendix, 31. Merk suggests this non-colonization pronouncement was considered wild and impolitic at the time: Merk, *Albert Gallatin and the Oregon Problem*, 51.

48. This was in response to Alexander's ukase of 1821, stating that the whole coast of North America north of 51° was exclusively Russian. This ukase was received in Washington in February, 1822, through Chevalier de Poletica, the Russian minister: Goodwin, *The Trans-Mississippi West*, 201. That Adams had intense popular backing in this block to Russian pretensions is clear in the *Niles' Register*, XXI (December 29, 1821), XXI (February 16, 1822), and XXII (July 27, 1822).

49. See note 34 above. Expressed public opinion on the Oregon question was conspicuously absent in the British press and in Parliament. But the Hudson's Bay Company, in the interest of ports, was the biggest block in a settlement of the border: Merk, *Albert Gallatin and the Oregon Problem*, 38-39.

50. *Annals of Congress*, 16th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 20, 1820), 679. Although Van Alstyne in *The Rising American Empire*, 96, states that this bill was administration sponsored, Ambler implies it was not, and that Floyd probably meant to force the President and his cabinet officially to recognize our rights in the area of the Columbia. Ambler, *The Life and Diary of John Floyd*, 62. Monroe recommended a military post at the Columbia in 1822 and so did Adams at the opening of the 19th Congress: *Annals of Congress*, 20th Cong., 2nd sess. (January 7, 1829), 189.

51. *Annals of Congress*, 18th Cong., 2nd sess., (February 26, 1825), 691.

52. *Annals of Congress*, 16th Cong., 2nd sess. (January 25, 1821), 951.

53. *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 18, 1822), 413. Stratford Canning saw Baylies' Report as "almost tantamount to a declaration of War." Merk, *Albert Gallatin and the Oregon Problem*, 55. He violently opposed the discussion in Congress and was especially upset by an article in the *National Intelligencer*, January 26, 1821, signed by Senator Eaton and therefore considered semi-official, which discussed a project to establish a colony on the Pacific: Carey, *A General History of Oregon*, II, 431.

54. *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 18, 1822), 413.

55. Norman Graebner, "Maritime Factors in the Oregon Compromise," *The Pacific Historical Review*, XX (November, 1951), 332.

56. *Annals of Congress*, 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 20, 1824), 27-28; *Annals of Congress*, 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 22, 1824), 44.

57. *Annals of Congress*, 20th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 31, 1828), 143.

58. *Annals of Congress*, 20th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 23, 1828), 125.

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Annals of Congress*, 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 20, 1824), 23. See also Thomas Hart Benton, *Thirty Years' View* (New York, 1854), I, 13. Ramsey Crooks, first with the Northwest Company, joined Astor in 1810 but soon became disgusted and returned East. It was later as a prominent American businessman that he was influential in directing John Floyd to the importance of Oregon to the United States: Cox, *The Columbia River*, 58, n. 16. See also Schaefer, "The British Attitude toward the Oregon Question, 1815-1846," 288, n. 44; and Charles Ambler, "The Oregon Country, 1810-1930, A Chapter in Territorial Expansion," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXX (June, 1943), 22-23.

61. *Annals of Congress*, 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 20, 1824), 23. Soon after the peace Astor had written Thomas Wilson in London, "I have partly resolved not to engage in any european business unless something would occasionally be done in Exchange, my object will be to the Canton trade. . . ." Porter, *John Jacob Astor Business Man*, II, 590; see also *Annals of Congress*, 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 18, 1822),

62. *Annals of Congress*, 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 20, 1824), 23-24.
63. *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess. (January 25, 1823), 692-695; 20th Cong., 2nd sess. (January 6, 1829), 168-169.
64. *Annals of Congress*, 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 21, 1824), 40.
65. *Annals of Congress*, 18th Cong., 1st sess. (April 6, 1824), 2348.
66. *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess. (January 13, 1823), 598-600; 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (February 26, 1825), 691; 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 21, 1824), 37-38; 20th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 30, 1828), 136. Floyd, Benton and others answered this objection most often by accepting Jefferson's idea of a separate republic, but urging it be peopled with Americans: *Annals of Congress*, 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (March 1, 1825), 712; 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 20, 1824), 14-16. Baylies offered a more interesting answer. He held with "only . . . a slaveholding and a non-slaveholding interest, the hazard of separation would be greatly increased"; but more states would give diverse interests and therefore the calm to ride out conflicts: *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 18, 1822), 416-417.
67. See Herman J. Deutch, "Economic Imperialism in the Early Pacific Northwest," *The Pacific Historical Review*, IX (December, 1940), *passim*. The rise of the New England cotton textile factories upon the China trade foundations was especially influential, for now the Orient became an important market as well as a source of goods. The *Niles' Register* noted on May 30, 1829, "The American trade appears to be on a very respectable footing in Canton. . . . There is a large demand for cotton yarn. . . ." The activities of purchasing agents and the establishment of permanent depots for the hides and tallow trade were important in the economic penetration of the California coast.
68. Although when originally introduced Floyd's bill had seemed radical, by December, 1824, Monroe had formally recommended it, and the vote in both houses gained substantially: Merk, *Albert Gallatin and the Oregon Problem*, 7, also 22, n. 21.
69. *Annals of Congress*, 20th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 30, 1828), 141.
70. Floyd to John William, December 27, 1830, Ambler, *The Life and Diary of John Floyd*, 100. After declining re-election to Congress and retiring in January, 1829, probably expecting a place on Jackson's cabinet which he did not get, Floyd became governor of Virginia January 9, 1830. Floyd's encouragement of Kelley was clear when in February, 1828, he presented to Congress "Memorial of the Citizens of the United States" asking for aid in establishing settlements in the area of the Columbia River—and this memorial was Kelley's. Ray Billington, *Westward Expansion A History of the American Frontier; 1830-1860* (New York, 1956), 514. Regarding memorials, see *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess. (February 22, 1823); 20th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 23, 1828), 126; 20th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 24, 1828), 145.
71. *Niles' Register*, April 5, 1823. The Oregon question got wide attention in the press; see the *Niles' Register*, December 15, 1821; December 22, 1821; January 3, 1822; January 26, 1822; February 3, 1822; April 20, 1822; December 25, 1824; January 1, 1825. Another reflection of popular ambition is found in the maps of the time. John Melish of Philadelphia, the official cartographer for the government, printed a map in 1816 showing the Louisiana Purchase in green; it went from the Rio Grande to 52° on the North and took in the whole Pacific Coast to San Francisco: Van Alstyne, *The Rising American Empire*, 95.
72. *Ohio State Journal*, 1825, quoted by Dan Clark in "Manifest Destiny and the Pacific," *The Pacific Historical Review*, I (March, 1930), 5.
73. *Annals of Congress*, 20th Cong., 1st sess. (May 19, 1828), 2731.





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# Musical Activities and Ceremonies at Mission Santa Clara de Asís

By JOSEPH HALPIN

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WHEN THE PADRES ESTABLISHED their missions, one of the first things they did was to organize a choir and orchestra to supply music for divine worship. Their hopes for musicians rested in the natives—as only two padres took charge of a mission—therefore, the early musical training of Indian boys and men was essential. The padres selected their musicians on the basis of voice quality, intelligence, and aptitude. These “chosen ones” were the envy of other Indians as most Indians delighted in taking part in mission celebrations. Every Indian family had an ambition to have a member in the mission choir or orchestra.<sup>1</sup>

Though Mission Santa Clara de Asís was founded by Father Junípero Serra on January 12, 1777, it was from 1794 to 1833 that the mission flourished. This was the result of the excellent leadership of two padres, Father Magín Catalá and Father José Viader, the intelligence of the Santa Clara Indians, and the rich agricultural resources of the valley.<sup>2</sup>

Father Catalá, formerly chaplain at Friendly Cove, Nootka Island, arrived at the mission in 1794, and labored there until his death November 22, 1830. He became known as the “Holy Man of Santa Clara” because of a religious spirit which was more intense than his interest in earthly matters. It is said that he was never seen to smile, and he had a monkish fear of the wiles of women, from whom he habitually averted his face, even somewhat shading it with his cowl when talking to them.<sup>3</sup> His piety was such that he was shocked at the loose morals of the nearby citizens of the pueblo San José de Guadalupe. He arranged to have a tree lined avenue built from that pueblo to the front door of the mission, thus offering salvation to the errants. When few citizens of the pueblo came to the mission, Father Catalá promoted the construction of a separate church in San José. The residents, despite their carnal habits, respected this “Holy Man of Santa Clara,” and built a church which took nine years to construct.

Despite his aesceticism, Father Catalá instructed the Indians in the Christian doctrines of the Church and took care of their spiritual needs. He possessed a love for the young Indian children, staging for them Christmas plays, called *pastorelas* or *Los Pastores de Belén*, in which they all took part.

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Father Catalá's companion, Father José Viader, arrived in 1795 and remained at the mission until 1833 when representatives of the rebel Mexican government forced him to leave because of his loyalty to Spain. While Father Catalá devoted himself to the mission's spiritual activities, Father Viader attended to more every-day matters, such as arranging music for the choir, training Indians to sing and play, exploring new territories for more missions, and, when necessary, punishing the unruly. He supervised the vaqueros, agricultural workers, and industrial workshops in which Indian laborers forged iron, tanned hides, worked at carpentry, and other trades.

During the administration of Father Catalá and Viader, Mission Santa Clara became agriculturally one of the richer in California. By 1800 it maintained 1,247 residents. In its entire history there were 8,640 converts, almost 2,000 more than any other mission. This large population not only learned practical skills, but selected members also learned music for the mission church services.

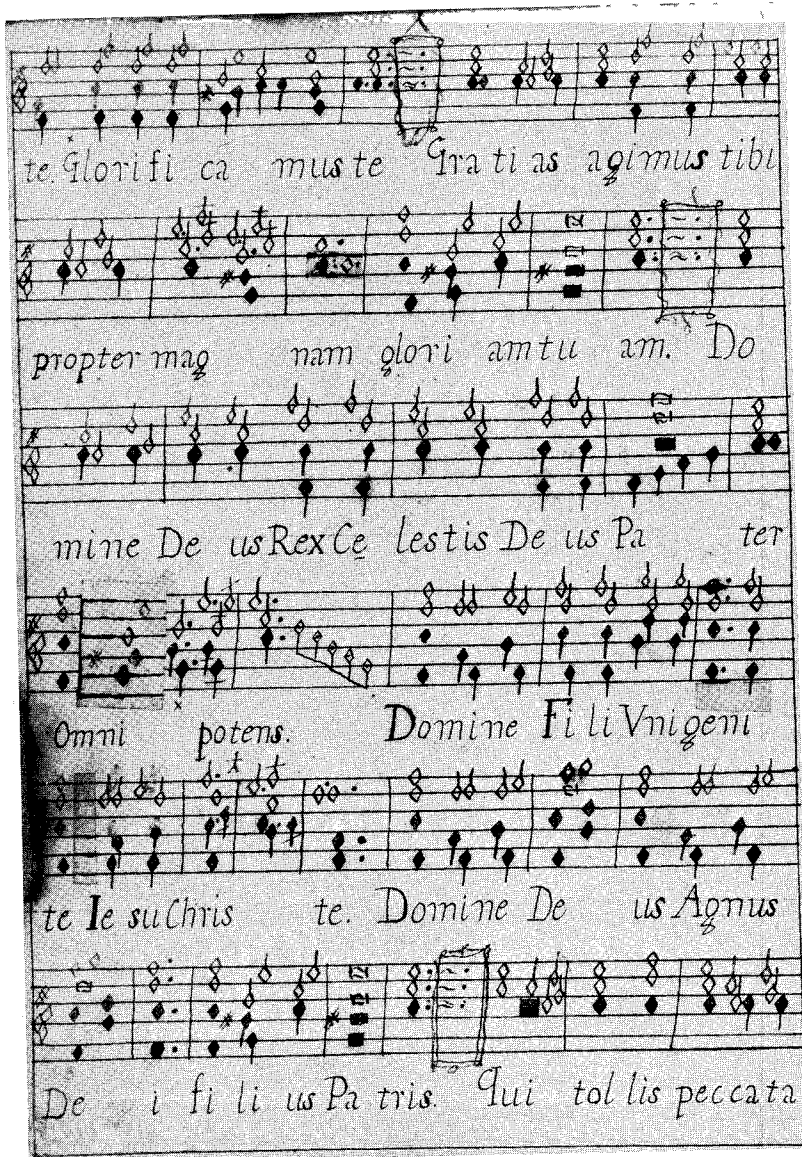
Father Viader fostered the growth and development of music at the mission by instructing, rehearsing, and copying music parts for the Indians. His choir and orchestra soon came to be well known, the latter not only for their fine playing but for their resplendant uniforms purchased from a French merchant ship at Monterey. DeMofras, in 1841, wrote that Father Viader "purchased from a French whaler [sic] thirty complete uniforms and organized a band of musicians."<sup>4</sup> Later records report that when Alvarado and Castro stationed their troops at the secularized mission, the soldiers stole not only horses, saddles, cattle, blankets, but also "twenty-two suits of fine red cloth worn by the Mission band."<sup>5</sup>

On religious feast days and other special events, the orchestra doubled the choir parts and supplied additional music for the Mass. When the group of musicians traveled to Santa Cruz in 1841 for the Exhaltation of the Holy Cross, DeMofras wrote:

It was not without keen surprise that we heard musicians brought over from Santa Clara, singing the *Marseillaise*, as the congregation rose, and escorted the procession singing *Vive Henri IV*. After Mass, upon asking one of the fathers how these Indians happened to know these airs, I was informed that one of his predecessors had bought a small organ from France and that the Indians, after hearing the airs, had instinctively arranged the songs for use by the various instruments.<sup>6</sup>

During his stay at Santa Clara, Father Viader trained Indian singers and players to the point that his group became known to other missions. Father Narciso Durán, also a good musician at Mission San José de Guadalupe, wrote in 1813:

At this time some musical instruments had already come to the Mission, and I, observing that the boys of the neighboring Missions managed them easily enough, began to



This music sheet from the *Gloria In Excelsis Deo* shows the patches used to cover a wax stain or make a correction. The system of hollow or filled notation in either red or black to guide the Indian four-part singers is attributed to Padre Esteban Tapís of Mission San Juan Bautista and here appears in the music archives of the University of Santa Clara, Santa Clara, California.

interest myself in sending some of the boys of this Mission to Santa Clara to learn the rudiments of music.<sup>7</sup>

Father Viader's training was so thorough that in a short time Father Durán had his own choir and orchestra at the San José mission.

Alfred Robinson, the New England traveler, described the religious feast day of Saint Joseph held at Mission San José de Guadalupe during Father Viader's lifetime.

Mass was soon commenced, and Padre Viader at the usual period of the ceremony ascended the pulpit, and delivered an explanatory sermon relative to the celebration of the day. The music was well executed, for it had been practiced daily for more than two months under the particular supervision of Father Narciso Durán. The number of the musicians was about thirty; the instruments performed upon were violins, flutes, trumpets, and drums. . . .<sup>8</sup>

Whether musicians from Santa Clara de Asís went to San José to augment the musical forces there was not recorded. One could surmise that there probably were some Santa Clara musicians taking part in the service, for Robinson wrote of the same event: "Being the festival eve, many of the Indians were starting off in numbers; and ere the sun set, hundreds were upon the road for St. José."<sup>9</sup>

Throughout the history of Mission Santa Clara de Asís, music played a vital role in its services. Confirmations, the laying of a cornerstone for a new church—Santa Clara de Asís Mission had five—dedication of a church, and blessing of the bells, as well as appeals to God all required music and Indian participation. In Book I of *Libro de Confirmaciones de Santa Clara*, Father Tomás de la Peña wrote:

On the 11th of November of 1779 in the Church of this Mission of Our Lady Mother Santa Clara, which this same day was blessed and opened for divine worship, at the close of the high Misa Cantada . . . Fray Junípero Serra . . . confirmed the following. . . .<sup>10</sup>

Upon subsequent occasions when Father Junípero Serra returned for more confirmations, the choir sang the Mass and also sang special music for the confirmations. For the consecration of the 1784 church the Indians sang a "solemn *Te Deum*."

Elaborate ceremonies were not confined to the purely ecclesiastical but were used also for matters of material want. Since mission water systems depended upon winter rains, a drought was a severe matter. In 1823, or 1824, Father Catalá led a procession asking Heaven for relief from the long drought which had plagued the area all that winter. For this event the choir assisted by singing special hymns.<sup>11</sup>

For the various religious festivities as well as the Mass itself, the Indian



musicians had a considerable amount of music to learn. The choir had to sing the plainchants, the Propers of the Mass for Sundays and principal feasts of the year, two or more plainchant Masses for other occasions, more than two homophonic Masses—either in two or four parts—numerous hymns for Benediction, and other hymns honoring the Blessed Virgin and other saints. Sometimes the choir supplied music for Vespers and Compline, special Lenten services such as the Stations of the Cross and Tenebrae. At funerals, they sang the Requiem Mass either in plainchant or in four part harmony.

During the few weeks before Christmas the musicians were not only kept busy participating in the special church services, but also in the *pastorela*, or Nativity play, held at most if not all missions at Christmas Eve. Robinson described a *pastorela* presented at Mission San Diego de Alcalá.

At an early hour, illuminations commenced, fireworks were set off and all was rejoicing. The church bells rang merrily. . . . The Mass commenced . . . and at the conclusion . . . the characters entered in procession, adorned with appropriate costume, and wearing banners. There were six females representing shepherdesses, three men and a boy. One of the men represented Lucifer, one a hermit, and the other Bartolo, a lazy vagabond, whilst the boy represented the archangel Gabriel. The story of their performance is partially drawn from the Bible, and commences with the angel's appearance to the shepherds, and his account of the birth of our Saviour. Lucifer appears among them, and endeavors to prevent the prosecution of their journey. His influence and temptations are about to succeed, when Gabriel again appears and frustrates their effect. A dialogue is then carried on at considerable length relative to the attributes of the Diety, which ends in the submission of Satan. The whole is interspersed with songs and incidents that seem better adapted to the stage than the Church.<sup>12</sup>

These *pastorelas* followed the ideas of St. Francis, who introduced into the Franciscan churches the custom of representing the manger at Bethlehem. At Mission Santa Clara de Asís there were two rooms which adjoined the church on the cemetery side. The first was the baptistry, while the second was known as the "Bethlehem," because each year at Christmas the crib and biblical history were represented in it. As the actors reenacted the journey to Bethlehem, they proceeded to this room and at the conclusion of the play curtains were drawn aside to show statues of the Nativity. Joined with the music of the choir and orchestra, along with the pealing of the bells, this drama stirred all the Indians concerned. The *pastorela* presented at Mission Santa Clara de Asís and some other missions was probably the one written by Father Ybañez of Mission Nuestra Señora de la Soledad since he was known as a dramatist, and the play was circulated to many missions.<sup>13</sup>

Holy Week offered several types of services—all reflecting upon the death of Christ. On Good Friday, three men performed the ceremony of *Via Crucis*. While the choir sang appropriate music, three men dressed in white linen carried a heavy cross from one station to another.<sup>14</sup>

While the ceremony of Tenebrae was much more solemn than the *pas-*



*torela* and offered no chance for rejoicing or gaiety, it was similar to the *pastorela* in that *Tenebrae* illustrated a segment from the life of Christ and all the Indians took part in it. The ceremony occurred on Good Friday after the choir had sung the Lamentations. Fifteen candles on the *Tenebrae* candleholder were extinguished one by one until only one remained burning. During the singing of the Benedictus, shutters and curtains were closed over all the windows. The one remaining lighted candle was removed and placed behind the altar—this one candle signifying the light of Christ. After the recitation of the psalm, “Miserere,” the entire congregation clapped hands, struck wooden clappers, shook rattles, and beat on drums—all symbolizing the confusion of nature at the time of Christ’s death.<sup>15</sup>

During Holy Week, the padres and musicians sang a musical setting of the Passion Gospel during the Mass in a sort of liturgical-dramatic fashion. Three priests—if three were available—or the regular two padres and a Mexican or Indian vocalist sang the parts of the narrators while the bass voice sang the part of Jesus. The chorus represented the “Turba” or crowd by singing the “Crucifige eum.”<sup>16</sup>

As mentioned, musical instruments were used in the mission services. Father Durán wrote in his *Prologo*:

As basic principle I ordained that there should never be a distinction between musician and singers, but that both hands and mouth should perform their respective functions; that is to say the same men both sing and play.<sup>17</sup>

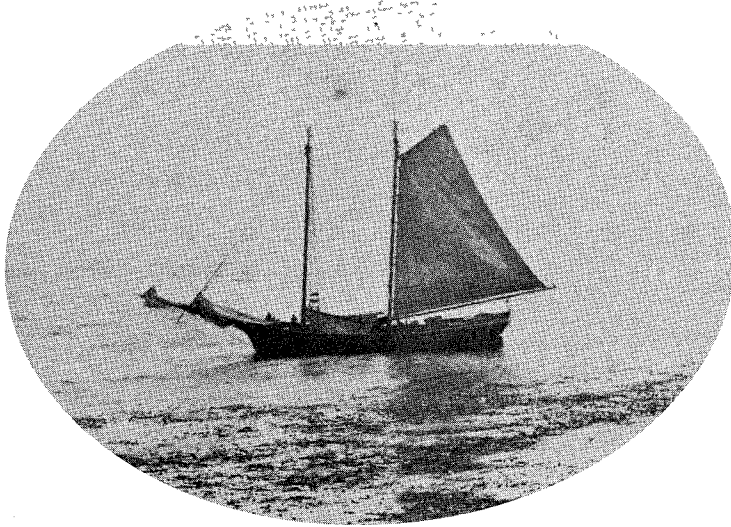
In the *Prologo*, which was the first theoretical writing in California concerning mission music, Father Durán frequently mentioned the use of instruments in connection with their doubling of vocal parts.

I always deemed it advisable that instruments should always accompany the singing, even having the Requiem accompanied by two violins.<sup>18</sup>

Of Mission Santa Clara de Asís, Pinedo wrote:

Rev. Father José Viader taught the Indians to perform on musical instruments and to sing. The younger ones sang and the older ones played in the band which consisted of a clarinet, flute, cello, bass, and small drums, cymbals, and triangle.<sup>19</sup>

Quite a number of missions possessed instruments. *Memorias* and account books record the purchase of violins, flutes, drums, trumpets, oboes, *mandolas*, and strings as well as parts for various instruments. Some instruments, especially the stringed instruments, were constructed at the missions but were usually of inferior quality to the ones brought from Spain and Mexico. (There is even record of a flute made from a gun barrel.) In 1827, Duhault-Cilly substantiated the fact that homemade instruments used for a Mass at Mission San Luis Rey were out of tune and of an inferior quality.<sup>20</sup>



...it is a dangerous-looking place

## SAILING DAYS ON THE REDWOOD COAST

By Karl Kortum and Roger Olmsted

North of the Russian River, a sail of a day or two from San Francisco, a forest such as will never be seen again came down to a coast that no sailor would ever have

sought as refuge—no matter what the extremity or storm or the distress of his vessel.

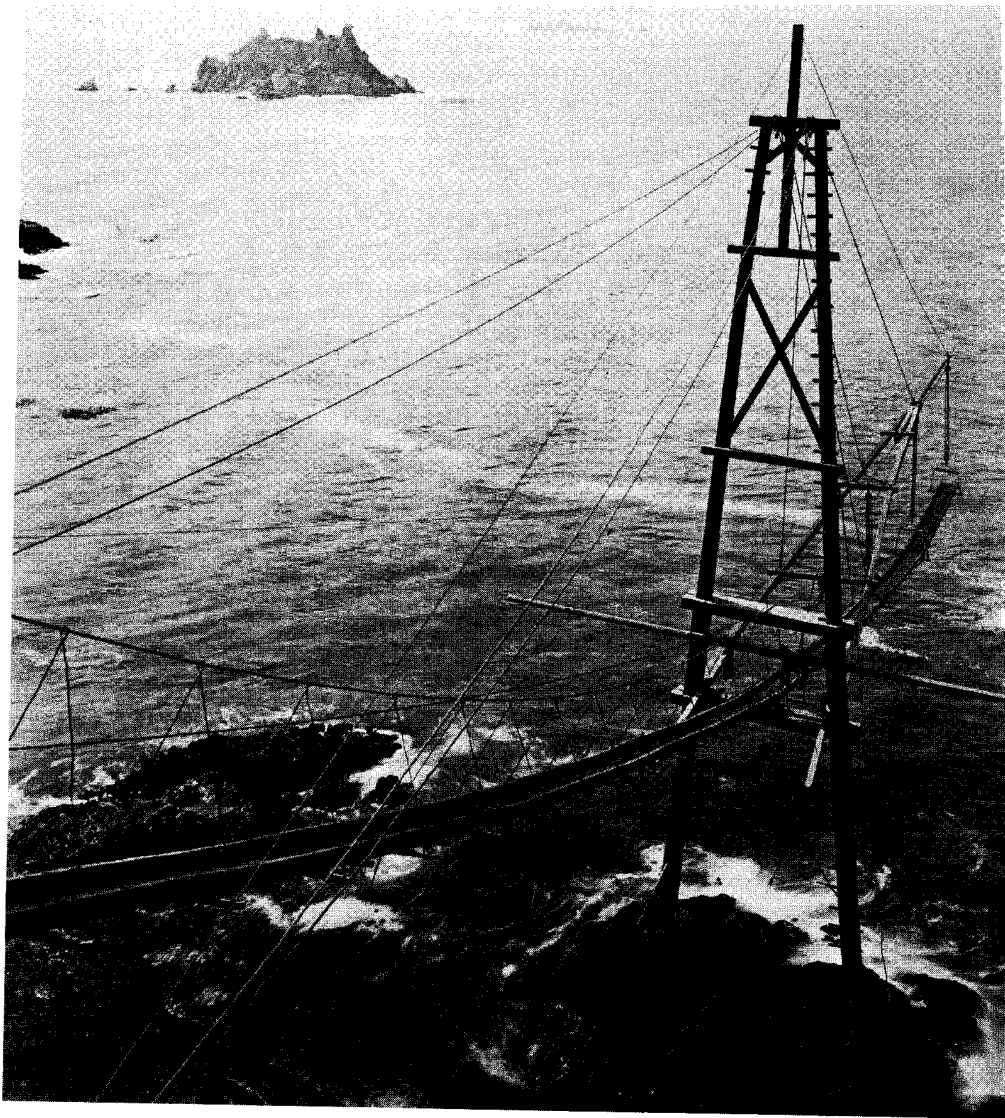
Yet in the decades immediately following the Gold Rush, the state of several arts implied that it was cheaper to ship redwood over the rocks of the Sonoma and

Mendocino shores than it was to bring lumber out of the forests of the Sierra.

What might seem to us extraordinary was economic; what we would now think ordinary was impractical. If the history of politics tells us that we learn nothing from

history, the history of economics and technology tells us that when we guess about conditions of which we have no sure knowledge, we will probably guess wrong. The schooner *Carolita* drifts across the top of this page. The year is 1868.

The *Carolita* is making port at Timber Cove, where she will load “under the chute”—one of the first chutes on the coast (1854) and probably the last (1920)



The chute was the solution to the problem of shipping lumber from the rockbound North Coast. By the 1880's the coast might be loosely described as having a mill in every gulch and a chute or two at every nearby indentation that offered slight protection from the prevailing sea and deep water close inshore. Seventy-six landings have been identified on the coast between Bodega Head and Humboldt Bay—most of them in use during the 1880's, when the one-topmast schooners still handled most of the export.

The definitive form of that spectacular contraption known as the chute was captured (above) by one of the members of an amateur photographic party that trekked up the coast in August of 1886. The "1884" inscribed on the suspension frame and the clear outline of Havens Neck in the background identifies it as the third of the chutes



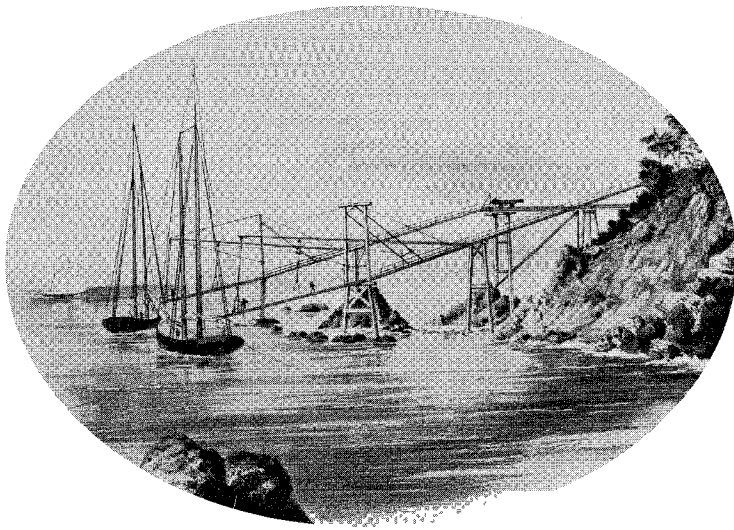
at Signal Port or Steens Landing (previously known as "Hardscratch") George Davidson's monumental 1889 *Coast Pilot* informs us that in the mid-'80's the nearby mill cut 25,000 board feet a day and that about eight schooners loaded here each month.

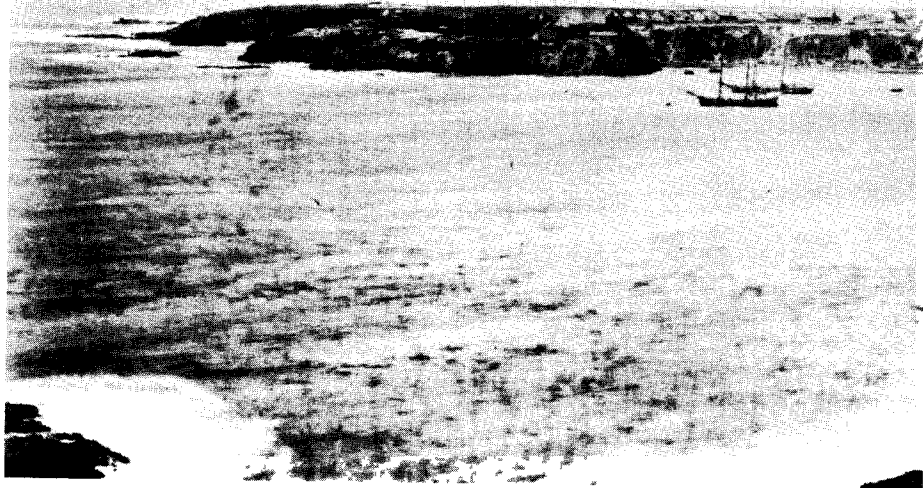
Some of the early shipping points on the Redwood Coast were at such likely spots as Noyo, Albion, and Gualala, where good sized streams gave entrance to small vessels during part of the year, and where it was in any event practical to send lighters out to the anchorage. But the nature of the coast and the need to load cheaply and fast almost immediately suggested the scheme of mooring schooners alongside convenient bluffs and sending lumber down a trough positioned right over the deck.

The two-masted schooners that loaded lumber, railway ties, firewood, and tanbark on the Mendocino Coast paid well and fed well from the seaman's point of view, but they did not nurture stray literary talents and we have no good account of the details of working these vessels. Captain Carl Rydell put in three months in the later-day steam schooner *Navarro* when the old style chute was still operating at the Navarro River, and his brief comments sketch the general method:

"The lumber is sent down the chute, near the end of which a man operates a brake to check the force with which the lumber descends. The seamen stand ready to catch the lumber as it leaves the chute. As each man gets a piece of timber he runs with it, lays it down exactly where it belongs, and returns to the chute. . . . When the hold is full, the deck is loaded, the larger part of the cargo of a lumber schooner going on deck. The work goes well enough when the water is comparatively smooth; but when the vessel rolls, the chute during some moments is high above the deck. This makes it difficult for a man below to catch a timber at the right instant and to get the right hold. If he makes a single slip, or if the man at the brake does not apply it in time, he may be injured or killed.

"On my first day at Navarro we took on railway ties. Loading ties, which we called 'sinkers,' is particularly hard and dangerous work. If water-soaked, as they usually are, one of them is as much as a strong man can carry." Rydell missed a "sinker" on a rough day in December under the chute at Navarro and left the Redwood Coast with a big toe in bad shape.

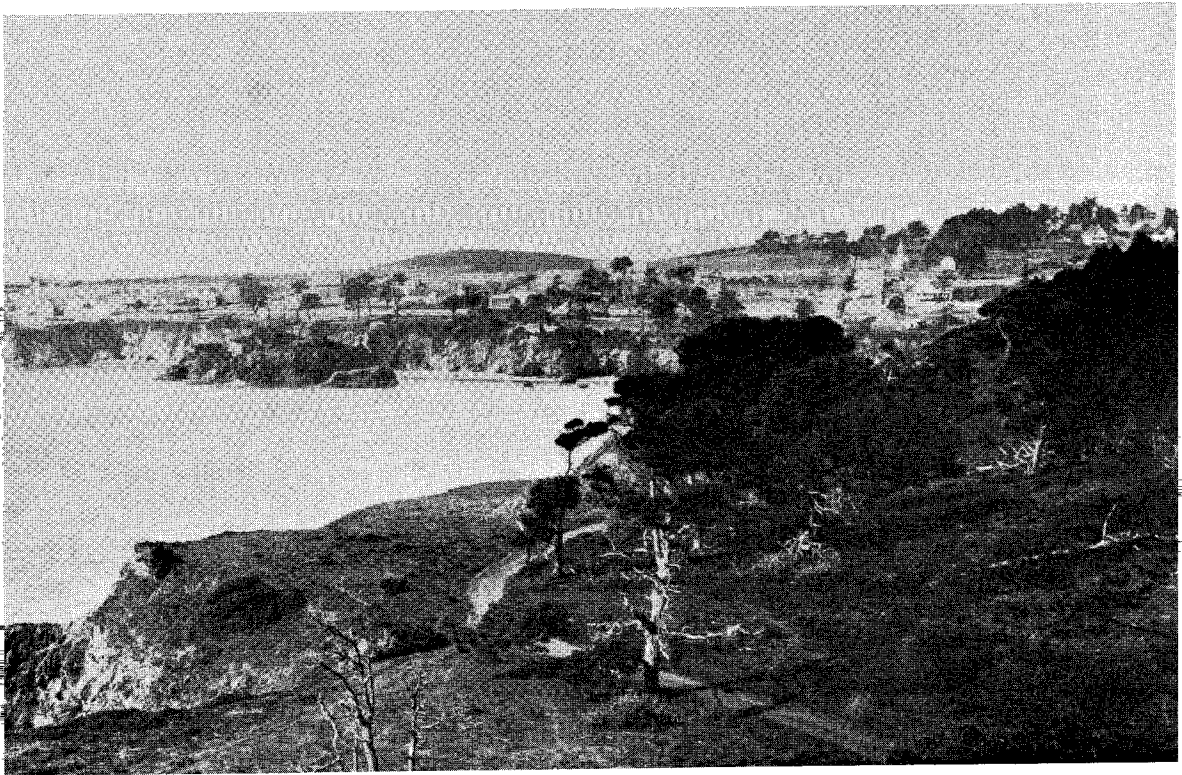
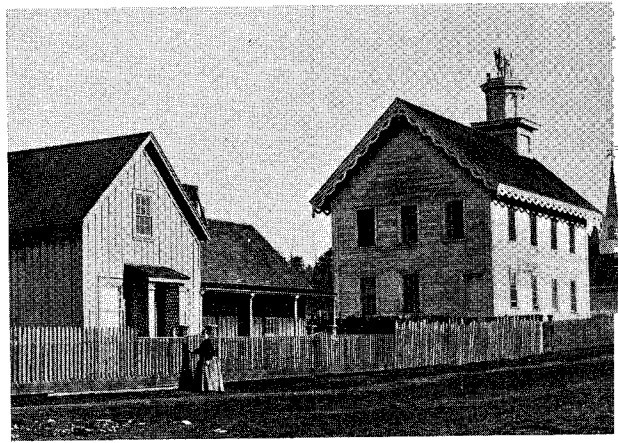




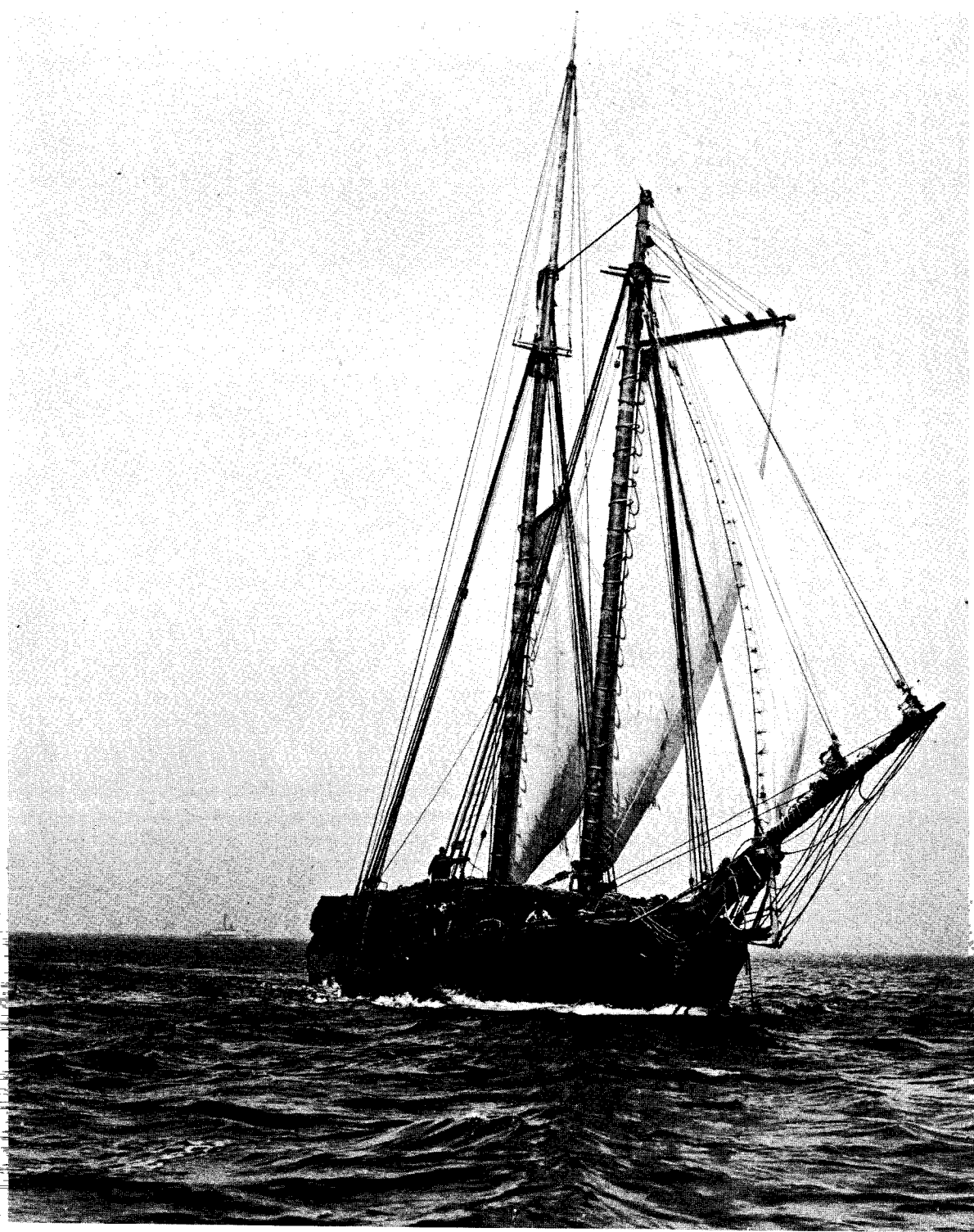


'Honest Harry' Meiggs, one of Gold Rush San Francisco's most highly regarded swindlers, founded the North Coast lumber industry in 1852, when in partnership with J. B. Ford and others he sent a sawmill up to Big River. The wharf that Meiggs projected at North Beach is seen in the view from Telegraph Hill in about 1867 (left); a tiny portion of the coastal schooner fleet lies at anchor, awaiting a favorable wind or tide.

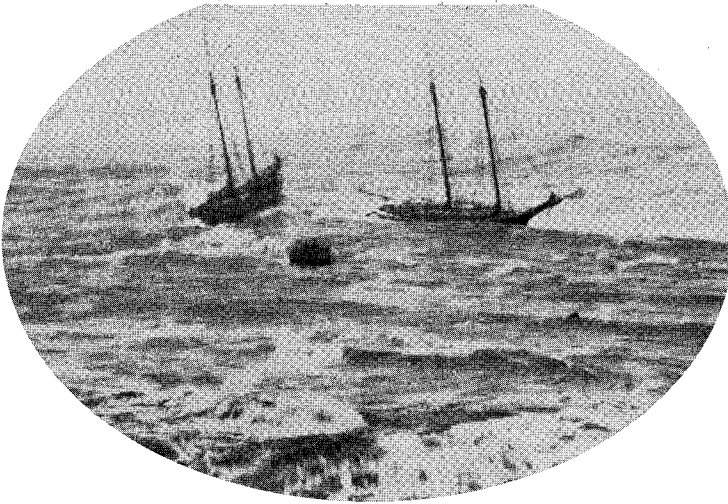
On the bluff overlooking the cove at Big River, the town of Mendocino City fulfilled Meiggs' early confidence. By the mid-1860's, when the view below was made, the former "Meiggsville" was still the most important shipping point on the coast and had assumed the appearance it carries down to this day. At the right is the main street in 1875 and the Masonic Hall, with its justly celebrated crowning statuary.







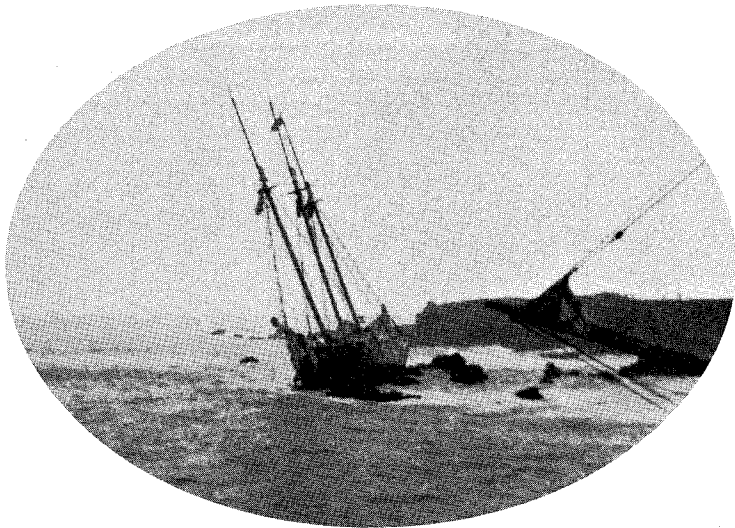
The definitive view of an "outside porter"·  
the schooner *Big River* approaches the San Francisco waterfront



Even the relatively capacious cove at Mendocino City was no port in a storm.

In 1867 a photographer who should have been inside caught these two schooners that should have been outside. We think they survived, but on the night of November 10, 1865, ten such schooners were lost on the coast.

The exposed landings of the North Coast were “outside ports”—at worst, “dog holes.” The handy schooners of the coast, with no fore-topmast, were said to have “a mast-and-a-half.”



The three-masted schooner *Norma* ashore at Fort Bragg

The gulch, the mill, the tramway to the landing, the chute, and the schooner loading all appear in this split panoramic view of Caspar made by C. E. Watkins in the 1860's. The anchorage at Caspar was "reckoned a good one by the coasters" in the words of George Davidson.

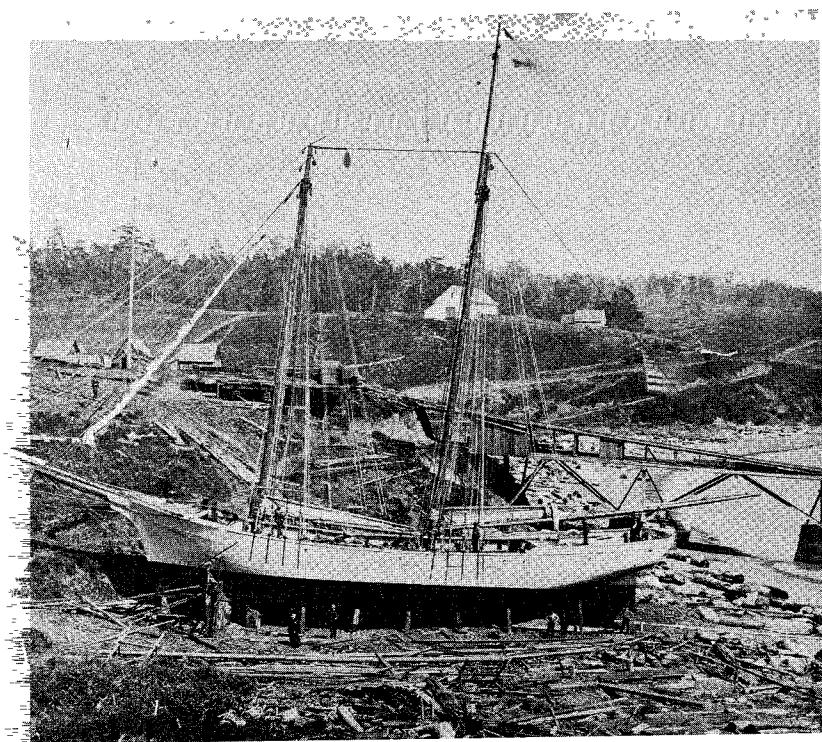
Seasonal floods carried sawlogs down the gulches to the mill at tidewater. A tramway then carried the milled stuff out to the loading point. Cutting, milling, and loading went on almost year 'round at good locations—but logs came to the mills from season to season, and shipping was of course much less brisk in winter than during summer, when the sea is never worse than dangerous.

In the heyday of the two-masted schooners (from the '50's through the '80's) there was never so much timber cut and shipped as in some later years, yet echoes from the earlier times are a bit more stirring than the statistics of the internal combustion era. "Flatfoot" Hansen told Bill Olesen (who told us) that one day in the '80's he counted over fifty outbound schooners becalmed in the lee of Point Reyes. The *Mendocino Beacon* of October 30, 1880, crowed that over 300,000 railroad ties were waiting on the landings at Westport, Noyo, Caspar, Little River, Albion, Salmon Creek, Newport, Cuffey's Cove, and Point Arena.

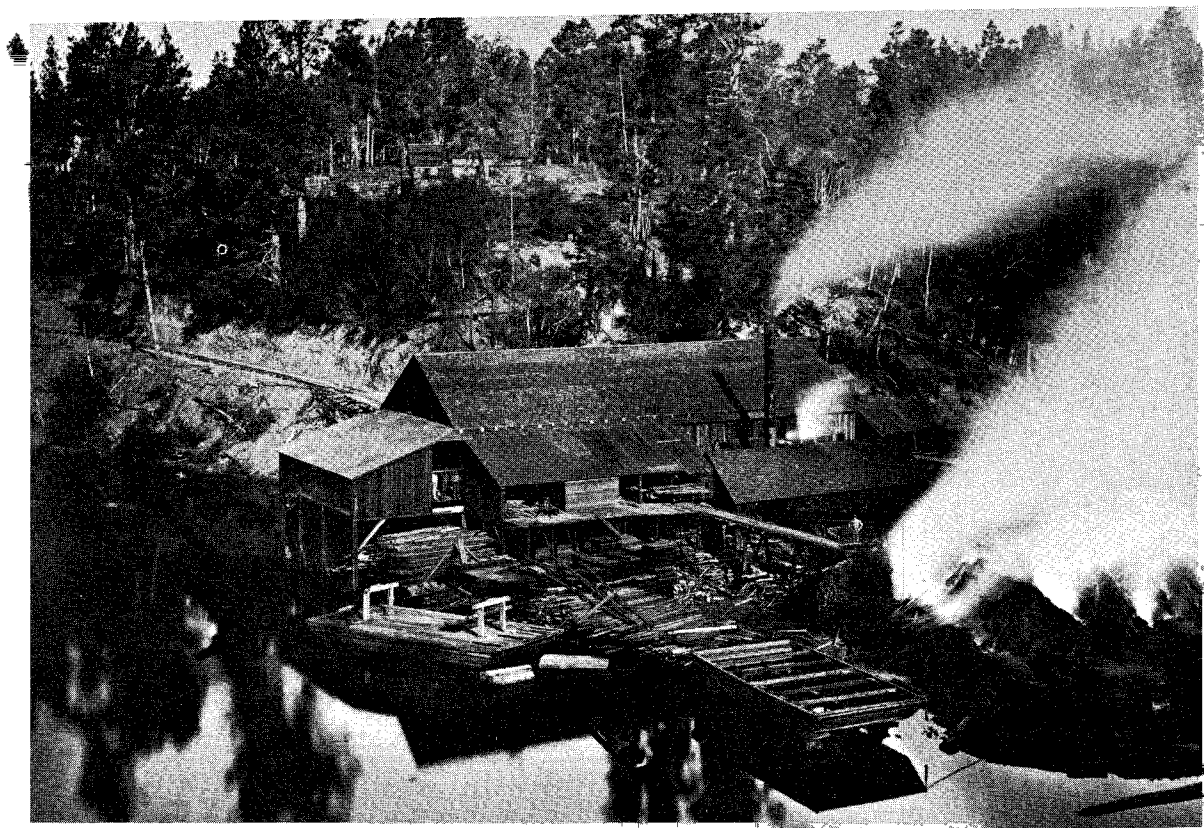
Analysis of available records suggests that over three hundred schooners of the type that worked the redwood Coast came out of Pacific yards between 1860 and 1884; within a generation they were a memory.







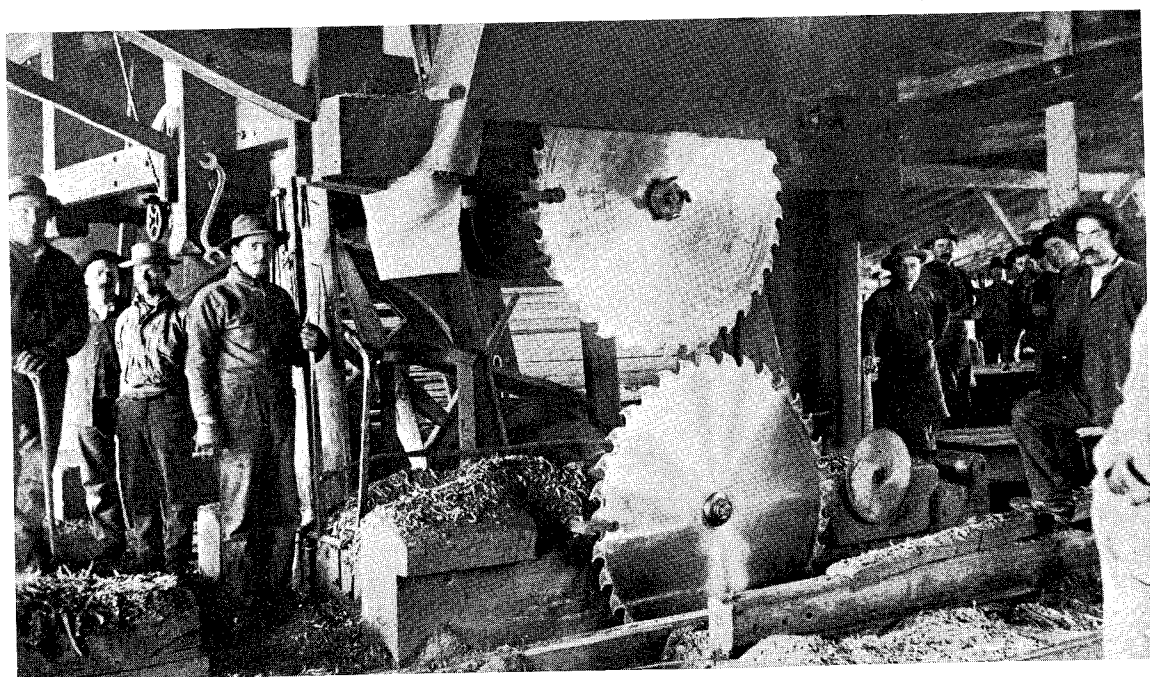
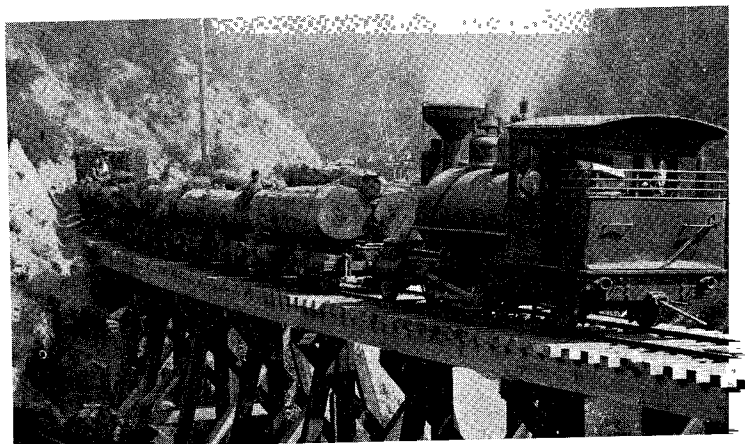
About thirty schooners were built right under the Mendocino bluffs. Here is the launch of the *Electra*, built by Thomas Petersen at Little River.







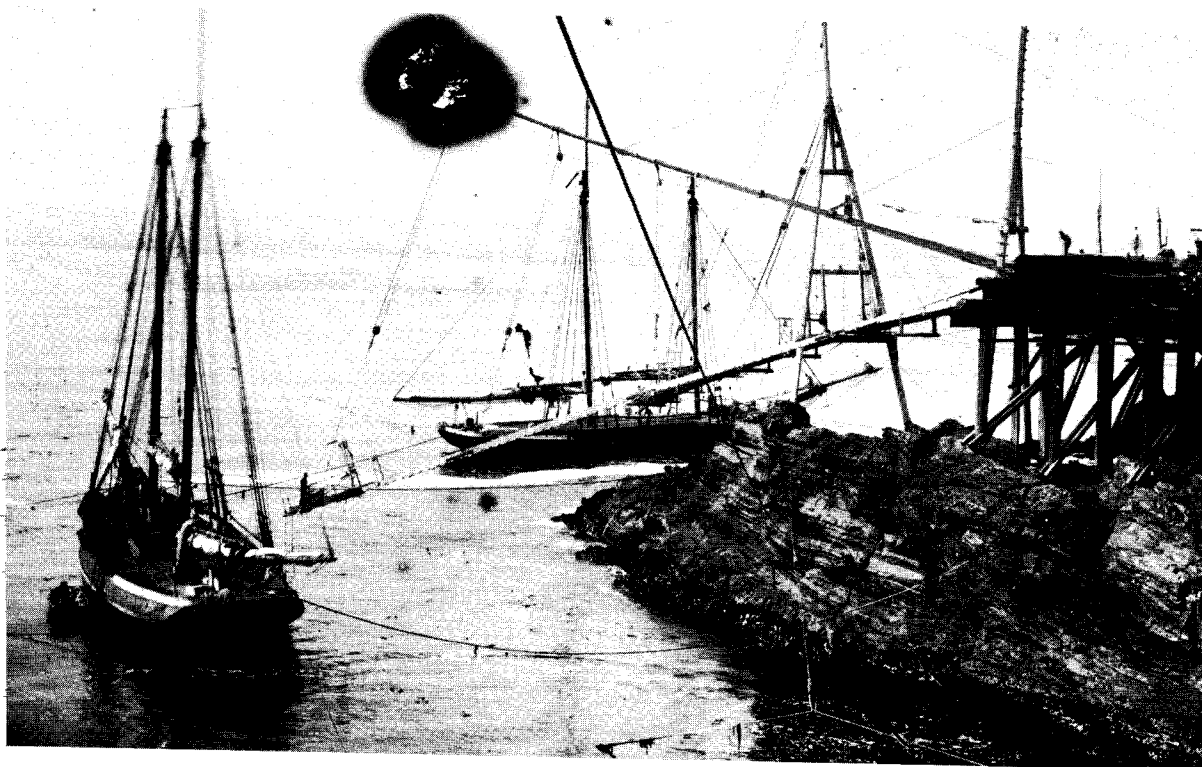
etting out a redwood tree was still an heroic effort when the only big machine involved was the saw in the mill. Muscle and ingenuity got a sawlog out and down to the creek. Later the dinky logging railroad extended the reach of practical assembly points for logs. But it was the stationary engine, with its spool of wire rope, that became the authentic Blue Ox of Paul Bunyan. It took only mortals to cut a forest: this machine could drag the forest out in pieces. The giant logs of the redwood country suggested the "logging machine" and such other new gadgets as this big double circular saw at the second mill at Little River.



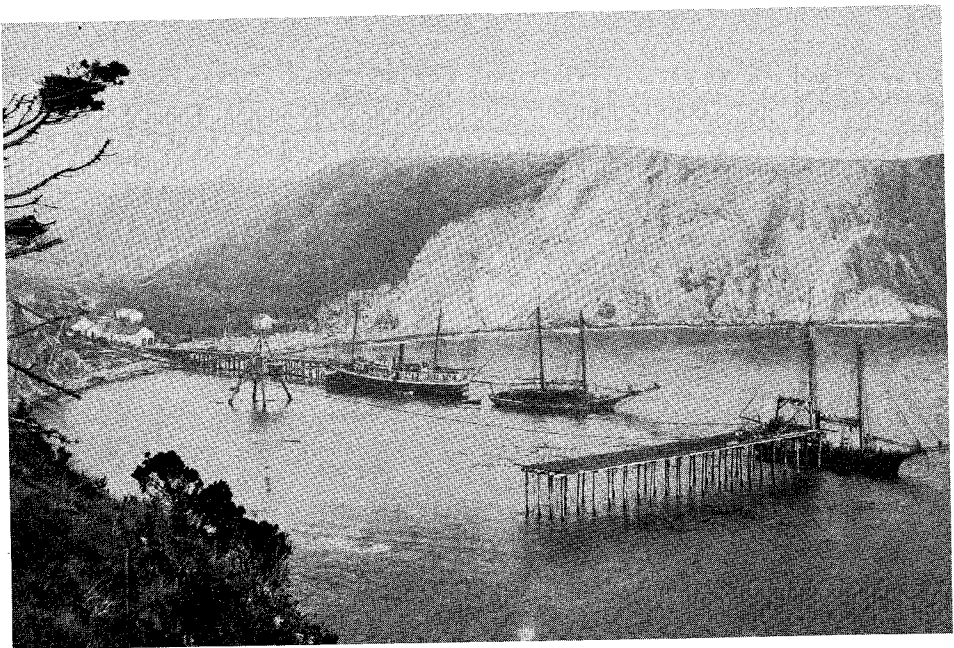


Every dog hole was peculiar to itself, which is why many schooner captains ran back and forth between San Francisco and a particular port where they literally knew every sunken rock in the dark. At Bourns Landing (below) a tram and wharf came out over a detached rock, where two chutes reached out from a platform. In the mid-'80's about 140 schooners loaded here each year. At Westport, wharves ran over the rocks to two chutes: seven schooners are loading or waiting in this view. At Point Arena there was a regular pier where the coastal steamer landed passengers and high-tariff freight every Wednesday (weather permitting); but as can be seen from the view showing the peculiar "table wharf" that lasted out a couple of years in the early '80's, the lumber schooners stood off the end of a huge chute or moored off the end of the table wharf, with its "wire chute."

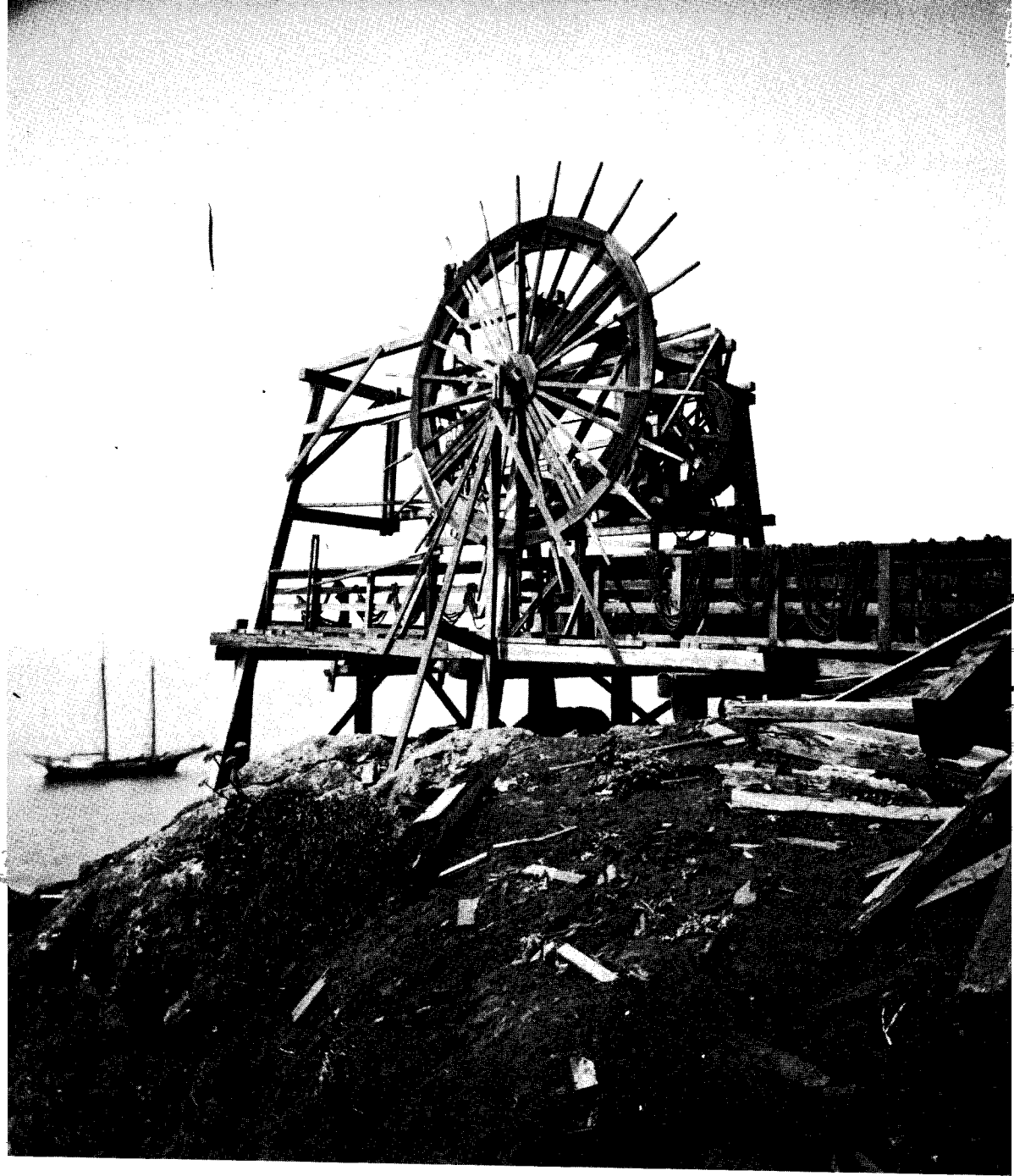
The idea of the wire (stemming from Andrew S. Hallidie's success with endless travelers in the Sierra mines and with the cable car) turned into the remarkable loading method that distinguished the Mendocino Coast operations in the steam schooner days that stretched well into this century. Whether down the chute or "under the wire," the way they got the timber loaded on the North Coast was something new to seamen.





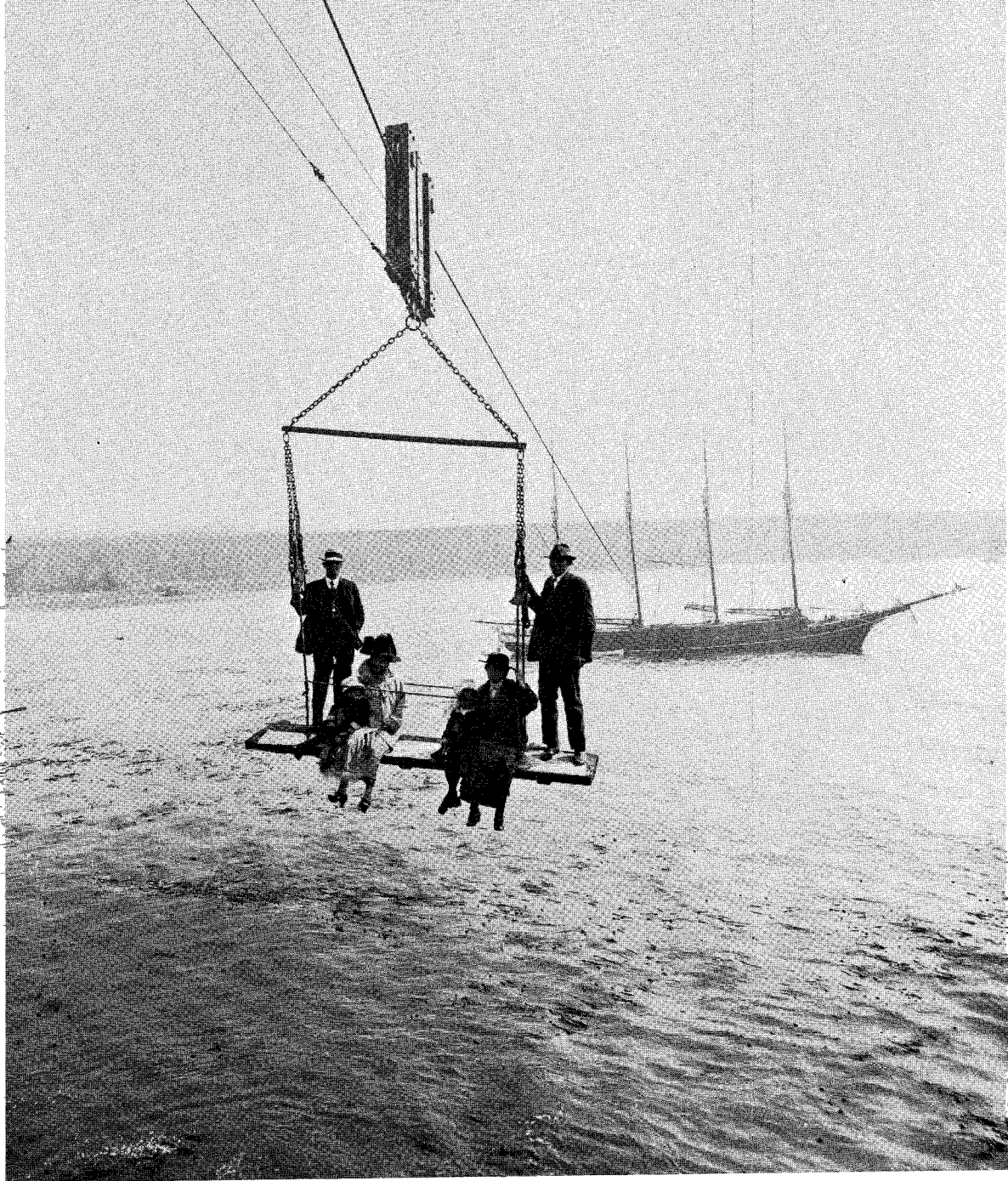




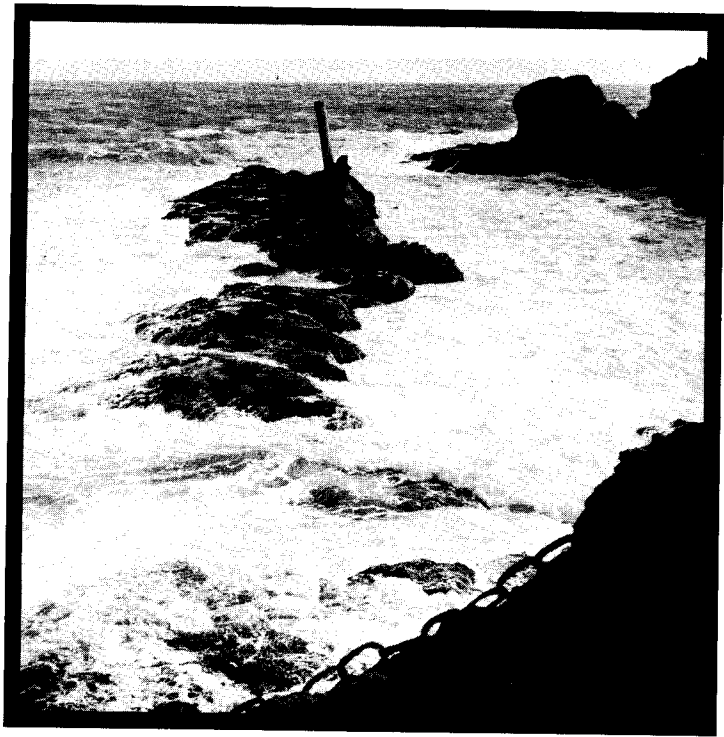


Though sending timber, bark, or firewood down a traveler running over a heavy wire rope was tried out in the late '70's, it was more than a decade before "wire chutes" became common. Here is the new chute at Iversons Landing (also called Rough and Ready) in 1886. The "bull wheel" was used to tighten up the wire after the offshore end and the main wire had been shackled together over the deck of the schooner





Why the wire was first called a "trapeze chute" is obvious from this family scene aboard the trapeze at Noyo in 1916. Captain Schuyler Colfax Mitchell, his wife, two daughters, and the children's nurse, take the safe and easy ride up from the deck of the big offshore schooner *Irene*.



Cuffeys Cove, once one of the most active shipping points of the Mendocino Coast, shows traces of its days as a dog hole port before the neutral eye of the camera. Of the nearby landing at Havens Neck, George Davison wrote, "It is a dangerous-looking place." So it was, but for a little time it and the rest of this dangerous coast was a place where seamen routinely did what was most unlikely.

PHOTOGRAPH SOURCES: Unless otherwise specified below, the photographs come from the large collection of North Coast views available at the San Francisco Maritime Museum. Three particularly fine groups of pictures owned by the Bancroft Library are represented here: 1) from the William Letts Olver Collection, which includes superb glass negatives made during a trip to Mendocino in 1886, are the scenes on p. 2, p. 6, and p. 10 (the view on p. 14, owned by the Maritime Museum, was made by another member of this expedition); 2) An interesting series made by M. M. Hazeltine in the spring of 1867 is represented by views on p. 5 (center) and p. 7 (upper); from the portfolio of oversize prints made by C. E. Watkins in the 1860's are the panoramic views of Mendocino City (pp. 4-5) and the mill at Caspar (pp. 8-9). Original negatives by A. O. Carpenter, salvaged by Robert Lee of Ukiah, produced the prints on p. 11 (upper) and p. 12.



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# Standard Oil and the Financing of the Mexican Revolution

By KENNETH J. GRIEB

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THE ALLEGED INVOLVEMENT of the Standard Oil Company in the Mexican Revolution has long been fiercely debated by historians. Contemporary accusations of financial aid to the Revolutionaries during the early phases of the civil war that engulfed Mexico sparked the controversy. While charges and countercharges of every nature were commonplace during the propaganda duel that paralleled the military confrontation, the allegations against the company were too numerous and diverse to be dismissed lightly.<sup>1</sup> Although viewing accusations uttered in the heat of combat with caution, historians have continued to investigate. If the evidence available has appeared inconclusive, it has been apparent that the company had a substantial investment in Mexican oil production, and constituted a logical source of financial support for the rebels. That the Revolutionaries obviously had ample pecuniary resources at their disposal has increased the suspicion of scholars, since the availability of such large amounts of capital seemed difficult to explain.

Probing the economy of a revolution is necessarily a formidable task, as roving rebel bands seldom maintain careful ledgers, and frequently fail to make the most effective use of available resources. Examining the finances of a rebellion involves such complex matters as estimating the potential return from the sale of "expropriated" real property, livestock, and household goods, and the amount of liquid capital available for "confiscation" in insurgent controlled sectors. Even a meticulous computation of available assets could prove misleading since the seizure and disposition of goods in the combat zone are frequently determined by personal caprice rather than monetary considerations. After its initial stages, however, the Mexican Revolution became a well organized movement in the northern region of the country, and could efficiently utilize the resources at its disposal. Yet even in this circumstance, it seems unlikely that its leaders could possibly have secured sufficient capital exclusively by internal expropriation, in view of the limited liquid wealth available in this area. It is this factor that has caused historians to continue investigations of the possibility of external financing. Despite Revolutionary contentions that the cost of the rebellion was modest,

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the substantial quantities of arms and ammunition purchased in the United States and paid for promptly seems to belie this contention.<sup>2</sup>

If investigating the finances of a revolution poses formidable difficulties, tracing the involvement of a single company is even more problematical. Just as the Mexican Revolutionaries did not maintain detailed records of such matters, one can hardly expect the Standard Oil Company to have preserved any embarrassing ledgers.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the company has been quite sensitive to such charges. In the face of such difficulties, complete documentation will never exist—but there is sufficient evidence to indicate some level of involvement.

The development of the Mexican oil industry was characterized by spectacular growth and a furious battle for dominance. Standard Oil initially entered Mexico during the 1880's to market petroleum from the United States. At the time there was no domestic production in Mexico. Standard's operations south of the Rio Grande were placed in charge of a marketing subsidiary, the Waters-Pierce Oil Company directed by Henry Clay Pierce. Through its affiliate, Standard Oil enjoyed a monopoly on sales in Mexico. This proved extremely lucrative, and during the 1890's Waters-Pierce realized a profit of 7.7 cents a gallon on its Mexican sales of illuminating oil—three times the average return in domestic markets.<sup>4</sup> At the turn of the century, the discovery of oil in Mexico terminated this monopoly. A frantic scramble for concessions ensued as production surged from 502,000 barrels in 1906 to 3,634,000 barrels in 1910. Huge strikes during December, 1910, yielded the world's three largest known gushers, and the following year witnessed an even more spectacular spout. In 1911 Mexico became an oil exporter, with a production of 12,713,000 barrels—nearly four times its 1910 yield. Production continued to skyrocket, and by 1913, when it reached 25,696,000 barrels, Mexico supplied nearly 7% of the world's petroleum.<sup>5</sup> Mexico was therefore the fastest growing oil producing area in the world, and the dramatic increase and spectacular strikes seemed to indicate unlimited potential. Thus the battle for concessions was fiercely contested.

The initial discoveries occurred during the presidency of Porfirio Díaz, who judiciously apportioned the concessions to prevent a monopoly. The Mexican president awarded the inaugural grants to Edward L. Doheney and Sir Weetman Pearson, subsequently Lord Cowdray.<sup>6</sup> After effectively terminating the Standard monopoly in this manner, Díaz shrewdly maneuvered between the companies. Doheney and Pierce did cooperate occasionally, with the former supplying crude oil to a refinery Pierce constructed at Tampico.<sup>7</sup> Cowdray's entry complicated the corporate struggle for market control and concessions. Because of his previous engineering and construction projects in Mexico, Cowdray was a favorite of Díaz, who consequently rewarded him with a concession which enabled the British tycoon to launch

his initial foray into the petroleum industry. The Mexican president also perceived that the presence of the British firm would preclude Yankee control of Mexico's oil resources.<sup>8</sup> After failing to reach a direct agreement apportioning the market between them, Pierce and Cowdray engaged in a protracted price war during 1909 and 1910, forcing the Mexican divisions of both firms to operate at a loss.<sup>9</sup> The principal contest for concessions, therefore, involved Cowdray's Aguila (Mexican Eagle) company and Waters-Pierce. In view of the substantial investments, the high stakes involved, and the ferocity of the competition, a willingness to resort to desperate measures is understandable.

Many observers have suggested that the companies were quite capable of supporting revolutions to secure advantages, and the Díaz policy certainly frustrated efforts to control Mexican production, engendering resentment. Conversely, potential rebels undoubtedly were not above pledging, or at least hinting at, preferential concessions and beneficent legislation to secure financial aid.<sup>10</sup> In this situation, it would have been surprising if Standard Oil had not been suspected of underwriting the Revolution. Similarly, if the charges were accurate, the company could have been expected to support its benefactors for an extended period, even to the extent of financing several rebellions, if necessary, until the party associated with it secured complete control of the nation. Thus Standard Oil was charged with augmenting the pecuniary resources of the revolt of Francisco I. Madero, in response to the alleged favoritism of Cowdray by Díaz. Naturally Cowdray was then accused of supporting the government of General Victoriano Huerta, which overthrew Madero, and Standard was in turn charged with financing the revolution which Venustiano Carranza launched in opposition to Huerta.<sup>11</sup> Although the post-Díaz regimes awarded few concessions, their taxation policies varied considerably, causing speculation about the effect of these levies on the oil companies.<sup>12</sup>

During the uprising against Díaz, the United States Justice Department's Bureau of Investigation secured evidence of financial negotiations between Standard Oil and the Maderistas. The initial contacts occurred during April, 1911. Department agents, who maintained a careful surveillance, reported that a C. R. Troxel appeared in El Paso, allegedly bearing credentials from John D. Archbold, Standard Oil's vice president in charge of operations. Troxel promptly approached representatives of the Revolutionary party. United States Attorney General George W. Wickersham advised Secretary of State Philander Knox of the incident. The agents' reports indicated that Troxel, on behalf of Standard Oil, offered the rebels a "loan" of one half to one million dollars, in return for 6% gold bonds and pledges of expanded oil concessions. As the talks progressed, agents kept the Justice Department fully informed, and Wickersham relayed details of the "negotiations between representatives of the Standard Oil Company and leaders of the insurrec-



tionary party in Mexico" to Knox.<sup>13</sup> Alfonso Madero reportedly conferred with the rebel agents who had met Troxel and approved the stipulations. Troxel and Gustavo Madero allegedly met personally on May 2 at El Paso to confirm the terms.<sup>14</sup> After reaching agreement, both returned to their superiors to arrange for the transfer of the funds and bonds.

These reports were sufficient to alarm United States government officials, who acted swiftly to frustrate the arrangements between the company and the rebels. Because of the number of ex-corporation officials in the Taft administration, it was possible to work through private rather than legal channels. The Secretary of State wrote directly to Archbold on May 10, 1911:

. . . the Department has received information of a most serious character charging the Standard Oil Company with an attempt to make a loan to the insurrecto leaders. . . . Knowing that conditions in Mexico breed all sorts of tales, the Department would be disposed to consider the matter as mere rumor which it would not be necessary to call to the attention of the Company, were it not for the fact that the information comes with such a wealth of details, including names of negotiators, the amounts involved, and the proposed terms. . . .

Adding that such an "improper transaction" would be "contrary to the true spirit which should guide and control loyal and patriotic American citizens under existing circumstances," the secretary quoted at length from a Supreme Court verdict holding that loans made to revolutionists constituted a violation of the neutrality laws of the United States and hence were not enforceable in court. Knox concluded:

It is doubtless unnecessary to point out to you that undertakings of this kind on the part of your company or any other American citizen may not only be classed as a breach of the good faith which our citizens owe to governments with which we are at peace, but that they could not fail to react injuriously upon American citizens and their commercial undertakings in all countries; and that such acts, tending as they do to compromise in the popular mind the impartiality of this Government, would so prejudice the public mind as to render impossible, or if possible then ineffective, representations generally to foreign governments on behalf of such citizens, and particularly to the government against which the citizens had thus illegally and unlawfully conspired.<sup>15</sup>

Knox apparently calculated that a direct warning indicating government awareness of alleged contacts would compel the company to terminate any negotiations more effectively than criminal prosecution, particularly when coupled with a threat of government disavowal of any resulting concessions. In the meantime, he directed the attorney general to launch "a rigorous investigation."<sup>16</sup>

Standard Oil promptly issued a vehement denial. Archbold replied categorically: "All statements of this character emanating from whatever source

are absolutely without foundation," and dispatched William H. Libby, director of Standard's foreign division, to Washington posthaste.<sup>17</sup> Libby arrived in the capital as rapidly as Archbold's missive, and conferred with the attorney general in pursuance of Archbold's directive that he ascertain "the source of these libels and misstatements." Wickersham provided Libby with the particulars of the agents' reports. After returning to New York, Libby sent the attorney general a single exchange of letters between Archbold and Troxel, dated January 13, 1910, which he characterized as "the only relationship (epistolary, personal, or official) Mr. Archbold, or any of the Standard Oil Company Directors, has ever had with Mr. Troxel." Libby assured Wickersham that he had carefully searched the company's archives to verify this, and added that none of the others involved in the negotiations had ever had any contact with Standard Oil. He also noted that the exchange with Troxel was merely a response to an unsolicited letter.<sup>18</sup>

This incident provides some solid, though inconclusive, evidence of possible Standard Oil involvement. Throughout the reports, it is clear that the Justice Department's agents relied entirely upon information supplied by informants. This is hardly surprising, since one would scarcely expect the agents to be able to participate in negotiations. Presumably, the investigators received these reports from sources that had previously proven reliable, and carefully verified the details in accordance with standard bureau procedures. Yet the information was second hand, and this is particularly important in the case of the credentials Troxel allegedly displayed. The company's denial was also to be expected, and its willingness to admit even a single contact with Troxel, however innocuous, is intriguing. Of particular interest is the fact that the copy of Archbold's reply to Troxel furnished to the Department of Justice by Libby, is an original ribbon copy rather than a carbon, since one would expect company files to contain only carbons of outgoing correspondence. It was scarcely surprising that the Company denied contact with the other alleged participants, since Troxel was supposedly the only representative of Standard involved, the others all being associated with the Mexican rebel party. The speed with which Archbold and Libby reacted, and the categorical nature of their denials, suggest at least a hypersensitivity to such charges. The government, of course, accepted the company's assurances, since the Bureau of Investigation was unable to secure further evidence.<sup>19</sup> This is also intriguing, since it indicates an apparent termination of the talks which coincided with the Knox-Archbold exchange. Consequently, it appears possible that Knox succeeded in his ploy and, by apprising Archbold of government knowledge, compelled the company to end any negotiations with the rebels. Another possible explanation is that the fall of Juárez occurred at the same moment, and may have reduced the rebel need for capital by assuring their triumph. According to the accounts, Gustavo Madero had stipulated that the insurrectos would terminate the negotiations if they

secured control of the country prior to the completion of the loan arrangements. The fall of Juárez, however, scarcely constituted a guarantee of the success of the revolt, for the prompt collapse of the Díaz regime came as a surprise to all parties.<sup>20</sup>

The difficulty of unraveling Standard Oil activities in Mexico during this period is compounded by the fact that the autonomous marketing subsidiary which conducted its operations in that country, the Waters-Pierce Company, was managed by one of the most controversial figures of an oft-criticized industry. Henry Clay Pierce personified the oil tycoon so roundly condemned by the muck-rakers. He had entered the oil business in Texas, but during the 1870's he transferred his headquarters to St. Louis, after a Texas state court ordered the dissolution of his marketing organization for business practices which violated state statutes.<sup>21</sup> Pierce agreed to merge his company into the Standard Oil system in 1878. Although Standard owned a substantial portion of the stock, and Pierce himself retained only a 40% interest, the agreement stipulated that he was to "control and direct" the firm's policies.<sup>22</sup> His headstrong methods and unpredictable actions subsequently exasperated Standard Oil headquarters. Aggressive tactics eliminated competitors ruthlessly, and enabled him to secure more than 90% of the petroleum sales in his territory, which encompassed much of the Southwest.<sup>23</sup> This yielded astronomical profits, among the highest in the Standard Oil system. Indeed, the returns were so extraordinary that they alarmed the trust's directors in the New York headquarters, who foresaw that they would stimulate legal investigation and encourage competition in the Waters-Pierce area.<sup>24</sup> But Pierce tenaciously clung to his own methods and contemptuously ignored the admonitions of the central office. One Standard executive characterized Pierce as "a brilliant man," with "no equal," but added: "He wouldn't play ball with the crowd, and he liked to pull fast ones. He wouldn't do a thing straight if it could be done crooked. He was cordial and polite enough but when he got into a jam with people . . . they knew they were fighting a Tartar. He was the nastiest fighter you ever saw."<sup>25</sup> The New York office found it impossible to control his actions, and Pierce remained a maverick within company circles. The supervisor of his sector informed John D. Rockefeller: "I believe Pierce is one of the most unsafe men we have connected with us today."<sup>26</sup>

Since Mexico lay within the Waters-Pierce territory, Standard operations in that country were under Pierce's direction. The discovery of oil in Mexico terminated Pierce's lucrative monopoly, and he plunged fiercely into the struggle for concessions in an effort to retain control of the Mexican market. Pierce did attempt to secure diplomatic support against his British rival during the Huerta-Carranza conflict, but his efforts proved futile because of the dedication of the Woodrow Wilson administration to the regulation of big business. Senator William J. Stone of Missouri conferred with presi-

dential adviser Colonel Edward M. House in October, 1913, in behalf of Pierce, urging that the president receive Pierce to discuss the oil situation in Mexico. House declined to arrange a meeting, and "explained how impossible it would be for the President to cooperate with a financial magnate who was interested in Mexican oil and railroads, and take sides with him."<sup>27</sup> Pierce received a similar rebuff when he personally spoke to Boaz W. Long, Chief of the State Department's Latin American Division.<sup>28</sup> The rejection of his request for diplomatic support left the oil tycoon to his own devices in the bitter competition south of the Rio Grande. In view of his record in battling domestic competitors, and his reputation within the trust, it appears unlikely that Pierce would have overlooked any method of eliminating his opposition in Mexico. He was scarcely the type of individual who would have stopped short of aiding revolutionaries when such an action offered a prospect of strengthening his position vis-à-vis his corporate rivals.

Consequently, it appears that the charges of Standard Oil's meddling in Mexico should, in fact, have been aimed at St. Louis rather than New York. This would explain the discrepancies between the company's denials and the evidence suggesting contacts. It is striking that the trust officers in New York attempted to act independently in Mexico on several occasions, indicating that the central office was dissatisfied with the Pierce operation in that country. The New York office dispatched an emissary to Mexico shortly after Madero's triumph, and the timing of this move may be significant.<sup>29</sup> Commentators have suggested that the attempt to expand Standard holdings at this time was indicative of association with the Revolutionaries. This is entirely conceivable, but it overlooks the patterns of management within the corporation. The significant fact is that the emissary came directly from New York, and had no contact with Pierce. It is, therefore, plausible that the decision to consider moving into Mexico was a consequence of the Knox letter, which may have convinced the directors that it would be unwise to allow Pierce to retain jurisdiction over that territory.<sup>30</sup> The Company's denials of any connection with the Revolutionaries did not preclude the possibility that Pierce, acting independently, could have made such approaches without informing the New York office. As the directors were well aware, Pierce was notorious for his reluctance to transmit records of his firm's transactions to the trust headquarters.<sup>31</sup> The initial emissary from New York reconnoitered the field during the latter portion of 1911, and the following spring Standard officials dined with British oil magnate Lord Cowdray in New York to discuss the purchase of his interests in Mexico.<sup>32</sup> This approach scarcely comported with Pierce's methods, and there is no indication that he was ever informed of the conference. The willingness to consider purchasing the holdings of a leading competitor is certainly not indicative of close company ties with the Madero regime, for there was no effort to secure concessions directly from the Mexican government, although

its consent would be essential to the acquisition of Cowdray's rights. Exploratory negotiations were also conducted with another firm operating in Mexico, with an eye to securing its concessions, but the trust's management abandoned this plan because of fear of adverse reaction by authorities in the state of New Jersey under a newly enacted statute. The directors even briefly considered authorizing another subsidiary to extend its operations into Mexico.<sup>33</sup> That such activities were conducted independently of Pierce, and at a time when Standard already had a substantial stake in Mexico through its Waters-Pierce subsidiary, may be a significant indication of the company's relationship with and view of Pierce's Mexican activities.

The pivotal figure in the alleged contacts between Standard Oil and the Mexican Revolutionaries was Sherbourne G. Hopkins, a Washington attorney. Hopkins characterized himself as legal counsel to the Revolutionists and director of their secret service in the United States.<sup>34</sup> He was a confidant of the Maderos, and subsequently was associated with the so-called Constitutionalist movement headed by Venustiano Carranza, working closely with the Constitutionalist confidential agency in Washington. In this capacity, he frequently conducted negotiations with United States government officials on behalf of the Revolutionaries, at one point even attempting to purchase arms from the War Department for the Carrancista forces. Hopkins frequently exchanged communications with numerous insurgent officials, including Carranza, at times employing the code name S. Gil Herrera in his telegraph messages. Documents in Mexican government archives indicate Hopkins' close association with the Revolutionary leaders, and portions of his correspondence with Constitutionalist officials appear in the published collection of documents from the private papers of the Carrancista foreign minister.<sup>35</sup> A memo in the United States State Department files commented:

There seems to be no doubt that Hopkins has been the adviser and confidential agent of practically any Mexican or Central American revolutionist or plotter who had sufficient money to pay for his services . . . it apparently makes no difference to him for which side he is working, and he is believed to be not above selling the secrets of one party to another.<sup>36</sup>

Pierce had previously retained Hopkins as legal counsel. Hopkins claimed to have severed his connection with the oil magnate, but contemporaries expressed some doubt.<sup>37</sup> A substantial portion of the charges concerning Standard Oil aid to the Constitutionlists revolve around Hopkins. His association with Pierce, and the fact that he apparently had no direct business with the trust itself, suggest that whatever contacts he had with the Revolutionaries regarding financial aid were made on behalf of Pierce. As an associate of both the Mexican Revolutionaries and Pierce, Hopkins constituted the ideal intermediary. His daily conferences with the Revolutionists would have rendered him a convenient channel for financial aid and negotiations.



After secularization in the 1830's, Mission Santa Clara de Asís suffered the fate of most of the missions; Mexican soldiers plundered and stole many articles. In 1851, the Jesuit fathers, into whose hands the missions had been placed by the authorities, made a complete inventory of what was left and discovered several musical instruments. The original inventory was made by the last Franciscan padre, Father José Maria del Real, and the first Jesuit priest, Father John Nobili, S. J. The inventory is not entirely clear and several interpretations can be made of this list which is located in the archives of Santa Barbara Mission (a photograph of the MS. is in the Santa Clara archives). The most logical conclusion is that when both priests made the inventory, they worked from a previous account, perhaps from the W. E. P. Hartnell inventory of 1839 or one of the annual *memorias* which listed more than those instruments found in 1851. The left hand numbers indicated the actual number of instruments which should have been on hand while the "no" after items five through eight indicates that these instruments had disappeared since the last accounting.

TABLE I  
INVENTORY OF 1851

- One Room  $5\frac{1}{2}$  V. long and 4 wide, brick floor, wooden ceiling and a door.
- One Large bass in good condition with box painted with oil.
- 3 Medium bass in good condition.
- 13 Violins ditto in good and bad condition.
- 0 Ditto medium in good condition. no.
- Ditto large a little deteriorated. no.
- Flutes. no.
- 1 Bass drum. no.
- 1 Parchment choral book lined in leather.
- Hinges and brass plates.
- Two Triangles and various sheets of music.
- One Bench  $\frac{3}{4}$  v. long with wooden back.
- Two Brass cymbals.

Throughout the history of Mission Santa Clara de Asís, music played an important role in its life. Instrumental and vocal music abounded under the able direction of Father Viader who taught it to many Indians and even some Mexicans who lived nearby in the pueblo. The type of music used was peculiar to the missions; neither complex nor unduly simple, it reflected the needs of the padres and the Indians.

#### NOTES

1. Guadalupe Vallejo, "Ranch and Mission Days in Alta California," *The Century Magazine*, December, 1890, cited by Rev. Owen daSilva, *Mission Music of California* (Los Angeles, 1941), 7. (Hereinafter cited as daSilva, *Mission Music*.)

2. Hildegard Hawthorne, *California's Missions* (New York, 1942), 109. (Hereinafter cited as Hawthorne, *California's Missions*.)
3. Charles Francis Saunders and J. Smeaton Chase, *The California Padres and Their Missions* (Boston, 1915), 343.
4. The term "whaler" is most likely inaccurate as very few whalers came near the missions. Duflot DeMofras, *Travels on the Pacific Coast*, I, 221, cited by Edith Buckland Webb, *Indian Life at the Old Missions* (Los Angeles, 1952), 251. (Hereinafter cited as DeMofras, *Travels*, cited by Webb, *Indian Life*.)
5. Hawthorne, *California's Missions*, 111-112.
6. DeMofras, *Travels*, cited by Webb, *Indian Life*, 251.
7. Father Narciso Durán, *Prologo*, 1813, cited by daSilva, *Mission Music*, 30.
8. Alfred Robinson, *Life in California* (Oakland, California, 1947), 72. (Hereinafter cited as Robinson, *Life*.)
9. *Ibid.*, 70.
10. Father Arthur Dunning Spearman, S. J., *The Five Franciscan Churches of Mission Santa Clara* (Palo Alto, California, ca. 1963), 25.
11. Rev. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M., *The Holy Man of Santa Clara*, 147-148, cited by Webb, *Indian Life*, 275.
12. Robinson, *Life*, 66-67.
13. Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, 429, cited by daSilva, *Mission Music*, 22.
14. Encarnación Pinedo, "Early Days at Santa Clara," *The Owl*, April, 1934, cited by Webb, *Indian Life*, 270.
15. Webb, *Indian Life*, 270.
16. Statement by Father Spearman, personal interview.
17. Durán, *Prologo*, cited by daSilva, *Mission Music*, 31.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Pinedo, "Early Days," cited by Webb, *Indian Life*, 252.
20. Engelhardt, *Mission San Luis Rey*, 59, cited by daSilva, *Mission Music*, 10.

Hopkins' close association with both parties, and the inevitable care of all participants to avoid leaving any evidence, render assessment of his role difficult. While his contacts with both participants in the alleged transactions are well established, evidence regarding financial aid is sparse. During June, 1914, the *New York Herald* printed several letters reportedly stolen from Hopkins' office, which identified Hopkins as the intermediary. The correspondence indicated that Pierce, rather than the Carrancistas, paid Hopkins' salary and expenses, despite the fact that he was devoting his energies exclusively to aiding the Carrancistas. The newspaper contended that this constituted financial aid by the oil company to the Revolutionaries, and suspected that it indicated larger scale assistance.<sup>38</sup> Portions of the alleged correspondence do appear to comport with Hopkins' exchanges with Revolutionary leaders. The difficulty of evaluating evidence of this nature has complicated attempts to determine Hopkins' precise role.

A significant portion of the missing link lies in the Mexican archives. During April, 1914, a Mexican government agent received a copy of a telegram transmitted from Washington to San Antonio. It was addressed to Jose Vasconcelos, one of Carranza's confidential agents in the United States, who had traveled from his post in New York to San Antonio to confer with Carranza and other Constitutionalist leaders. The telegram, signed "Hopkins," reads: "You are authorized draw and cash sight draft two hundred against C. A. Pierce care Pierce Oil Corp. St. Louis to cover expenses trip New York. Come immediately via Washington."<sup>39</sup> The incorrect initials used for Pierce may have been employed as a disguise. Save for the letters reproduced in the *New York Herald*, this is the only direct evidence of financial aid. Yet one would not expect more than fragmentary documentation to have survived.

The relationship of Standard Oil to the Mexican Revolutionaries thus remains murky, but a clearer picture is emerging. New evidence, contained in Department of Justice files and the Mexican archives, indicates that there were indeed some contacts, though the fragmentary nature of the surviving records precludes a precise determination of the details. Despite subsequent arguments that the Revolution did not require external financing, Mexican records do indicate efforts by the Carrancistas to secure foreign loans through the sale of bonds. The position of Pierce within the trust explains the failure of efforts to document contacts between the directors in New York and the Revolutionaries. Pierce and Hopkins constitute the keys, and given their association it appears probable that whatever transpired occurred without the knowledge of the main office. The available evidence is sufficient to indicate at least limited exchanges regarding financial aid and to establish the channel through which such assistance would have flowed. It also reveals the reason for the conflicting charges of the past, since it establishes that these accusations were directed at the wrong target. The previous activities of

Pierce suggest that he was unlikely to have overlooked any means to protect his investment, and the extensive purchases of arms imply that the rebels needed financial assistance. In these circumstances it would be surprising if some arrangement had not been reached. The necessity was apparent and the means were at hand. The existing evidence, though fragmentary, supports such a conclusion.

It should be noted that this conclusion does not reflect unfavorably upon the Mexican Revolutionists. Mexicans have been extremely sensitive to such charges, contending that they impugn the integrity of the Revolutionary leaders. Yet one cannot expect men enveloped in the desperate combat of a protracted civil war to overlook their urgent needs for the sake of future reputation. Funds were needed, and since it proved impossible to secure loans from other quarters, the Revolutionaries may have been compelled to accept them from whatever source available. Subsequent reforms would not have been possible had the Revolution failed at this point, even if it did so in preserving principle. To the credit of the Revolutionaries the only records indicating the tenure of the negotiations, the Justice Department's reports of the 1911 episode, indicate that the Revolutionary leaders insisted on the right to cancel concessions granted after a period of years, thus effectively proffering only short term advantages in return for short term loans. Such an arrangement would not have precluded subsequent reforms, and may have constituted a necessary compromise between expediency and ideals.

#### NOTES

1. For examples of the contemporary charges, see *El País* (Mexico City), January 4, 1913; Juan Pedro Didapp, *Los Estados Unidos y nuestros conflictos internos* (Mexico, 1913), 12; Edward I. Bell, *The Political Shame of Mexico* (New York, 1914), 126-127; Pierre L'Espagnol de la Tramerage, *The World Struggle for Oil* (New York, 1924), 89; Henry Lane Wilson, *Diplomatic Episodes in Mexico, Belgium, and Chile* (Garden City, N.Y.), 206; and Henry Lane Wilson to President William Howard Taft, July 17, 1911, Papers of William Howard Taft, Library of Congress. The general currency of the allegations is evident from the casual way they were discussed at a cabinet meeting: see "Diary of Josephus Daniels" (Secretary of the Navy in the Woodrow Wilson administration), April 18, 1913, Papers of Josephus Daniels, Library of Congress. The New York *World* published a reference claiming that the State Department had information proving such charges on January 9, 1914.

2. The cost estimate was offered by Sherbourne G. Hopkins, attorney for the Revolutionaries, who contended that the Madero uprising cost less than \$1,500,000, and that the full amount could have been raised in Mexico. Hopkins made this statement in testimony before a Senate Committee, United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Revolutions in Mexico*, 62d Cong. 2d sess. (Washington, 1913), 743-44. Reports from United States consuls along the border indicated large scale arms shipments, and the readiness of dealers and arms firms to supply them indicates prompt payment by the Revolutionaries. The examples would be far too numerous to mention here.



3. In a letter to this author on April 26, 1966, an officer of the company's Public Relations Department stated that the company maintains no archives, explaining that portions of them were destroyed following their use by compilers of the company's official history. This scholarly history, while detailing the company's development and dealing with its operations in Mexico, does not deal with the question of its relation to the Mexican Revolutionaries: see Ralph W. and Muriel E. Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business: 1822-1911*, Vol. I of *The History of the Standard Oil Company* (New York, 1955).

4. Harold F. Williamson, et al., *The American Petroleum Industry* (Evanston, Illinois, 1959-1963), I, 690, and Tramerage, *World Struggle for Oil*, 88-89.

5. Robert G. Cleland, ed., *The Mexican Yearbook, 1920-21* (Los Angeles, 1922), 295 and 306; Tramerage, *World Struggle for Oil*, 28 and 95-98; and Wendell C. Gordon, *The Expropriation of Foreign-Owned Property in Mexico* (Washington, 1941), 53.

6. Tramerage, *World Struggle for Oil*, 88-89; Harvey O'Conner, *The Empire of Oil* (New York, 1955), 256-257.

7. Hidy and Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business*, 258 and 464.

8. John A. Spender, *Weetman Pearson: First Viscount Cowdray, 1856-1927* (London, 1930), 32-35, 84-86, 93-113, and 149-150; Bell, *The Political Shame of Mexico*, 125-127. For an explanation of the British interest in Mexican oil, see Kenneth J. Grieb, "Sir Lionel Carden: A British Diplomat in Mexico," in *Proceedings of the Second Annual Northern Great Plains History Conference* (Winnipeg, 1968), 141-149, and E.H. Davenport and Sidney Russell Cooke, *The Oil Trusts and Anglo-American Relations* (New York, 1924), *passim*.

9. Hidy and Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business*, 464; Spender, *Weetman Pearson*, 165; Bell, *The Political Shame of Mexico*, 126-127.

10. Henry Hamilton Fyfe, *The Real Mexico: A Study on the Spot* (New York, 1914), 193-199, contends that the companies were in fact forced to contribute to revolutionary movements by threats of the destruction of their property.

11. For an examination of the role of these charges and counter-charges in Anglo-American relations and in the diplomacy of both powers in Mexico, see Kenneth J. Grieb, *The United States and Huerta* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1969), 125-141.

12. Gordon, *The Expropriation of Foreign-Owned Property in Mexico*, 58-59.

13. Attorney General George W. Wickersham to Secretary of State Philander Knox, April 26, 1911, United States Justice Department Papers, National Archives, RG 60, 90755-782. (Hereinafter, Justice Department Papers will be cited as JD and the number.)

14. Wickersham to Knox, April 28, 1911, JD 90755-789, and May 2, JD 90755-810; also "Memorandum as to Standard Oil Company Matter," May 18, 1911, JD 90755-919.

15. Knox to John D. Archbold, May 10, 1911, JD 90755-863.

16. Knox to Wickersham, May 10, 1911, JD 90755-863.

17. Archbold to Knox, May 15, 1911, JD 90755-882.

18. William H. Libby to Wickersham, May 22, 1911, JD 90755-890, enclosing C.R. Troxel to Archbold, January 13, 1910, and Archbold to Troxel, January 14, 1910, stating: "We have given the subject presented [a proposal to purchase oil land in Mexico] attention, but do not desire to undertake it."

19. Wickersham to Libby, May 24, 1911, JD 90755-900.
20. Negotiations between the Maderistas and the government had been in progress, sporadically, since February, 1911; Juárez fell to the rebels May 10, and peace terms were agreed upon on May 21: Stanley R. Ross, *Francisco I. Madero: Apostle of Mexican Democracy* (New York, 1955), 155-170.
21. Hidy and Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business*, 448-449.
22. Williamson, *et al.*, *The American Petroleum Industry*, I, 544-545, and Hidy and Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business*, 448-449.
23. Williamson, *et al.*, *The American Petroleum Industry*, I, 542-545.
24. Allan Nevins, *Study in Power: John D. Rockefeller* (New York, 1952), II, 42-43, and Hidy and Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business*, 449.
25. Nevins, *Study in Power*, II, 42, quoting a letter from Charles M. Higgins, a Standard Oil executive, to Nevins.
26. *Ibid.*, 42, quoting a letter from Horace A. Hutchins, Standard Oil supervisor of all western marketing, to John D. Rockefeller, February 23, 1882. For accounts of the unsuccessful efforts of the central office to control Pierce, see *ibid.*, 42-43, and Hidy and Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business*, 448-451.
27. Diary of Colonel Edward M. House, October 27, 1913, Papers of Colonel Edward M. House, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University. An official of the Waters-Pierce Company had previously written President Taft, appealing for government assistance against the British firm: Stanley Copeland to Taft, March 1, 1913, United States State Department Papers, National Archives, RG 59, 812.00/6684. (Hereinafter, State Department papers will be cited as SD.)
28. Conversation Memorandum by Boaz Long, of a discussion with Pierce, November 3, 1913, SD 812.00/17670.
29. George Sweet Gibb and Evelyn H. Knowlton, *The Resurgent Years: 1911-1927*, Vol. II of *The History of the Standard Oil Company* (New York, 1956), 84-85.
30. The central office had previously attempted to curb Pierce's activities in Mexico, as he took steps in that country without consulting the trust's directors, who frequently learned of them only after the fact. The directors felt that they should be consulted prior to any new investment, but were unable to enforce their wishes: Nevins, *Study in Power*, II, 42-43, and Hidy and Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business*, 448-449.
31. *Ibid.* 448-451. The central office was also alarmed by Pierce's tendency to retain large amounts of capital on hand (Nevins, *Study in Power*, II, 43), and this suggests that he had the means at his personal disposal to expend considerable amounts of money in Mexico without it coming to the attention of the directors of the trust.
32. Gibb and Knowlton, *The Resurgent Years*, 85.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Testimony of Sherbourne G. Hopkins before a Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee, December 10, 1912, *Revolutions in Mexico*, 747.
35. Exchanges between Hopkins and Carranza, regarding various phases of Carranza's relations with the United States may be found in the Archivo Relaciones Exteriores Mexicana, Ministry of Relaciones Exteriores, Mexico City (hereinafter cited as AREM), and in Isidro Fabela, ed., *Documentos históricos de la Revolución*

*Mexicana* (12 vols. to date, Mexico, 1960-1967), containing papers from the private archive of Carranza's foreign minister. Volumes I to IV deal with the Carranza period, and volumes V to IX with the Madero years. The negotiations regarding purchase of the arms took place during February, 1914, AREM, L.E. 760, leg. 1 (75-R-21) and leg. 2 (75-R-22).

36. E. Bell to Boaz Long, Memorandum on Sherbourne G. Hopkins, June 14, 1913, SD 811.44H77.

37. Testimony of Sherbourne G. Hopkins before a Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee, December 10, 1912, *Revolutions in Mexico*, 747.

38. New York *Herald*, June 28, 1914.

39. Hopkins to Jose Vasconcelos, April, 1914, (no day), AREM, L.E. 760, leg. 2 (75-R-22), f 303.





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# Francisco de Ulloa, Joseph James Markey, and the Discovery of Upper California

By STEPHEN T. GARRAHY AND  
DAVID J. WEBER

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FRANCISCO DE ULLOA'S 1539-40 VOYAGE along the California coast has long represented a minor mystery for historians. Outfitted by Hernán Cortés, Ulloa had set out from Acapulco on July 8, 1539, with three ships: the *Santa Agueda*, the *Santo Tomás*, and the *Trinidad*. Cortés apparently had instructed Ulloa to investigate rumors of wealth to the north—to search for the elusive Strait of Anian and the Seven Cities of Cíbola.

Soon after the journey began, the smallest of Ulloa's ships, the twenty-ton *Santo Tomás*, sank off of Culiacán. The *Santa Agueda* and the *Trinidad* kept on, following a northerly course to the head of the Gulf of California. Ulloa briefly explored the mouth of the Colorado River, then turned south along the coast of Baja California, becoming the first European to observe that California was a peninsula and not an island. With considerable difficulty his two ships rounded the tip of Lower California and ventured up its Pacific coast into uncharted waters. By January 5, 1540, the vessels had beat their way up the coast to Cedros Island in latitude 28°. <sup>1</sup>

For some three months Ulloa used Cedros Island as a base while preparing to push farther north. When supplies dwindled, Ulloa decided to send the *Santa Agueda* back to Mexico with a report. "I have determined," Ulloa wrote to Cortés, "with the ship *Trinidad* and these few supplies and men, to go on, if God grant me weather, as far as I can, and the wind will permit."<sup>2</sup>

Thus, in early April, 1540, the *Trinidad* and the *Santa Agueda* sailed from Cedros Island in opposite directions. It is known that the *Santa Agueda* reached Acapulco and that Ulloa's report found its way to Cortés. Exactly how far north the wind and weather permitted Ulloa and the *Trinidad* to travel, however, remains a disputed question.

Since the sixteenth century, some chroniclers and historians have held that Ulloa and the *Trinidad* never returned to Mexico. Hence, the northernmost point of the journey will never be known. This interpretation has lingered

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to the present day. As recently as 1959 a widely-read survey of California history asserted that Ulloa "and his vessel, with all on board, vanished into the empty seas."<sup>3</sup>

This standard explanation of Ulloa's fate was first seriously challenged in the 1920's by Henry R. Wagner. In his *California Voyages* Wagner offered impressive, if admittedly circumstantial, evidence of a cartographic and documentary nature that Ulloa returned to Mexico. Wagner also described errors in translation that had led some writers to suppose that Ulloa had not returned. Furthermore, Wagner noted that at least one chronicler, the famous Bernal Díaz, had recorded that Ulloa returned to the Mexican port of Jalisco where one of his own soldiers killed him.<sup>4</sup> Wagner might also have added that the chronicler Francisco López de Gómara also reported Ulloa's return to Mexico.<sup>5</sup>

By 1940 Wagner had found further evidence to confirm his thesis. That year, in an article entitled "Francisco de Ulloa Returned," Wagner presented a convincing argument that Ulloa found his way back to Tehuantepec about mid-August, 1541. Wagner's evidence consisted of testimony in a lawsuit between Cortés and Juan de Castellón, chief pilot on the Ulloa expedition and captain of the *Santa Agueda*. Castellón had brought the suit against Cortés for alleged failure to fulfill a contract. Among those who testified in the case was Francisco de Ulloa himself. Ulloa testified in May, 1542, in Valladolid, Spain, to which he had traveled from Mexico in company with Cortés's son. There can be little doubt that this Francisco de Ulloa was the same Francisco de Ulloa who captained the *Trinidad*. Hence, Wagner was hardly immodest in concluding that Ulloa's testimony "settles for all time the question whether Ulloa returned or not."<sup>6</sup>

Henry R. Wagner could not, however, have anticipated the claims of Joseph James Markey, a physician from Oceanside, California, who has stated flatly that Ulloa never returned to Mexico. Without directly refuting Wagner's evidence, Markey has advanced the thesis that Ulloa sailed the *Trinidad* north from Cedros Island to discover Upper California. Ulloa, according to Markey, went as far north as Santa Barbara. Then, on the return toward the south, Ulloa dropped anchor at the mouth of the San Luis Rey River near today's Oceanside. There Ulloa and most of his crew died of scurvy, dysentery, or a combination thereof. Hence, argues Dr. Markey, when Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo reached California in September, 1542, his was only the second European expedition to do so. Francisco de Ulloa, Dr. Markey says, was "the first white man to set foot on California soil."<sup>7</sup>

Markey's theory rests on fascinating and seemingly impressive archaeological and documentary evidence. His first "discovery" of Ulloa's presence in the San Luis Rey Valley occurred in 1927 when he found the skeleton of a white European buried along with a knife, buttons, and a piece of breast-plate. These artifacts, Markey says, date back to the era of the Spanish con-

quest of Mexico and tests supposedly revealed the skeleton to be about 400 years old.<sup>8</sup>

Markey's search for an explanation of his find led him to suspect that the artifacts might have come from the missing *Trinidad*. His suspicion was nurtured in 1950 when a chance meeting in Paris with one Miguel de Ulloa, a descendent of Francisco de Ulloa, brought forth the information that two members of the Ulloa expedition had survived. The story had been handed down through the generations.<sup>9</sup>

Acting on Miguel de Ulloa's suggestion, Markey traveled to Spain in 1951 to search for archival evidence of Ulloa's fate. Finally, three hired investigators turned up an account by Pablo Salvador Hernández, one of three survivors of the *Trinidad*.

The Hernández document, according to Markey, chronicles in considerable detail Ulloa's journey north from Cedros Island to Santa Barbara and to the San Luis Rey River Valley, where the *Trinidad* took shelter near the river's mouth. On August 21, 1540, the scurvy-stricken crew set up camp near an Indian village on an inland lake. Contracting dysentery from the fouled waters of the lake the men began to die. Although the living took shelter in a nearby hillside cave, disease continued to claim lives, including that of Ulloa. Meanwhile, Hernández and two other crewmen seem to have escaped infection by remaining most of the time on the ship and by drinking only wine. On Hernández's final visit to the cave, only a dying prostitute remained alive. To end her misery, Hernández is said to have dropped a stone on her head, then sealed the cave entrance with rocks. With two other surviving crewmen, Hernández rowed the *Trinidad's* longboat safely to Acapulco.

The Hernández account, Dr. Markey tells us, was accompanied by three maps. These showed the location of the *Trinidad* at anchor, the location of the cave, and the location of some gold that Ulloa had asked Hernández to bury.

In late July, 1951, with the Hernández maps to guide him, Markey located a cave containing skeletons, including one of a female with a crushed skull. In September, 1957, with the arrival of the third Hernández map from Spain, Markey was able to locate a treasure of 2,000 gold coins which date from the 1st century B.C. to about 1500 A.D.

These finds in the San Luis Rey Valley, Markey contends, irrefutably illustrate the validity of the Hernández account and prove that Ulloa perished near Oceanside. The *Trinidad* remains the final piece of evidence that evades Markey. Yet, he is confident that the ship lies along the coast between San Diego and Oceanside and that its discovery will place the capstone on his argument.

Since Markey made public the contents of the Hernández account in a speech before the San Diego Historical Society in January, 1952, his theory

has received a wide hearing. His claim that Ulloa discovered California has appeared in publications ranging from the *Los Angeles Times* to the *Dodge News*, and the story has been heard over radio, television and in public forums.<sup>10</sup> An independent diving crew has placed such confidence in Markey that since 1968 they have been investing time and money to probe the ocean floor near Oceanside in search of the *Trinidad*. Although nothing substantial has been found to date, the search continues to attract attention to the theory that Ulloa discovered California.<sup>11</sup>

Yet, despite the considerable publicity that Markey has received, only one historian has evaluated the Ulloa theory in a serious study. Maurice G. Holmes, in *From New Spain by Sea to the Californias, 1519-1668*, published in 1963, indicates that he was unable to locate the Hernández document in Spain and implies that he doubts the document exists.<sup>12</sup> This is the position which most historians, including Holmes, privately assume. Yet, Holmes and others have not publicly challenged or impugned Dr. Markey.

The public silence of the experts has led some of Markey's supporters to conclude that a conspiracy exists among professional historians to ignore Markey.<sup>13</sup> In fact, the doctor himself seems to entertain this notion. In a scathing letter to the *San Diego Independent*, in May, 1968, Markey took to task what he termed the "so-called historians" of San Diego for failing to agree with him that Ulloa discovered California. Historians, Markey contemptuously charged, spread "six textbooks out on a table . . . copying facts that have been coming down to us for a hundred years. This way an inaccuracy is perpetuated from generation to generation. To steal from one author is plagiarism but to steal from six is 'research.'"

For his part, Markey boasted that he had "spent the last 25 years in original research. Not writing." His May, 1968, letter promised, nevertheless, "a 500 page document [book] (with 300 illustrations) which will appear in the next year or so." This forthcoming book, Markey opined, would immortalize Ulloa and give the "authorities . . . something new to copy. And lecture about."<sup>14</sup>

To date, the promised book has not appeared. When it does, perhaps it will attempt to resolve the discrepancy between Wagner's evidence that Ulloa returned to Spain and Markey's conviction that he is buried in the San Luis Rey Valley. Yet, a book authored by Dr. Markey will probably not convert many professionals to his point of view. As Markey himself has noted, "any would-be 'authority' can have a book published."<sup>15</sup>

What is needed, if Dr. Markey wishes to prove his theory, is that the account by Pablo Salvador Hernández be made available to other scholars. Markey's archaeological evidence is not, in itself, sufficiently convincing. The Hernández account, however, which Markey claims to have drawn from extensively and which he has quoted from at times, constitutes the foundation of his entire argument and needs to be made public.



Had Dr. Markey wanted to withhold the Hernández document indefinitely, it would have been his prerogative. However, in view of his derision and contempt for historians who do not accept his thesis, and in view of the widespread publicity that he and his theory enjoy, it appears to us that Dr. Markey has engendered a responsibility to put forth his evidence. Merely telling a story over and over again is hardly sufficient to establish its credibility.

At this time, we can only conclude that Francisco de Ulloa discovered California because Joseph James Markey says that he did. To a person as intellectually vigorous as Dr. Markey, it ought to be apparent that this explanation is not satisfying to an inquiring mind.

#### NOTES

1. The facts of Ulloa's voyage as far as Cedros Island are well-known and agreed upon.
2. Quoted in Henry R. Wagner, ed., *California Voyages, 1539-1541* (San Francisco, 1925), 60, which contains Ulloa's report.
3. Robert Glass Cleland, *From Wilderness to Empire: A History of California*, ed. by Glenn S. Dumke (New York, 1959), 5-6. For a discussion of Ulloa and the chroniclers see Wagner, *California Voyages*, 5-12.
4. *Ibid.* Wagner first suggested that Ulloa returned in "The Discovery of California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, I (July, 1922), 43.
5. Francisco López de Gómara, *Cortés: The Life of the Conqueror By His Secretary*, trs. and ed. by Lesley Byrd Simpson (Los Angeles and Berkeley, 1965), 403.
6. Henry R. Wagner, "Francisco de Ulloa Returned," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XIX (September, 1940), 240-244.
7. "Francisco de Ulloa, not Cabrillo, Discovered California," *Southern California Rancher* (February, 1952), 7. This article reproduces much of a talk that Markey gave before the San Diego Historical Society in January, 1952.
8. Although Markey has not directly published his thesis, it is possible to reconstruct the story from reports of talks and interviews that he has given. A succinct statement is the previously cited article in the *Southern California Rancher*. The most detailed published report of an interview with Markey is Vincent H. Gaddis, "He Found the Trinidad's Tantalizing Treasure," *True* (July, 1965), 52-55, 74-76. Brad and Choral Pepper, *The Mysterious West* (New York, 1967), 175-184, is another recounting of Markey's story based on information provided by Markey. Our own interview with Dr. Markey failed to elicit any details not already treated in these published accounts. Thus, the account which follows is a composite from the above sources.
9. San Diego *Union*, February 5, 1950.
10. A collection of clippings in the San Diego Historical Society's Serra Museum and Library is illustrative of the media's response to Markey's theory.
11. In 1968 the City of Oceanside issued a permit to Aztec Six, Inc., to explore nearby waters and work has continued through this writing (September, 1970). *The Independent* (San Diego), September 26, 1968.
12. Holmes, *From New Spain*, 89.
13. See, for example, Betty McKaig in *The Independent*, September 26, 1968.
14. J. J. Markey, letter to the Editor, *The Independent*, May 5, 1968.
15. *Ibid.*



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# An Early Attempt at International Goodwill

By ALBERT SHUMATE, M.D.

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THE CRIMEAN WAR was of major interest in San Francisco, for many nationals of the warring nations had heeded the cry of "Gold!" and journeyed to the New World El Dorado. England, France, and Sardinia had allied themselves with Turkey to battle the Russian Empire. The conflict centered in the Allied siege of the city of Sebastopol, which was guarded by the great stone fortress called Malakoff. The siege opened in 1854, and finally met with success when on September 8, 1855, the fortress fell. The fall of Sebastopol followed within a few days, and in March, 1856, the defeated Czar Nicholas I signed a peace treaty.

Two names still found in California commemorate the war. The town of Sebastopol in Sonoma County is the last of five Sebastopols of the 1850's. Near Nevada City is the Malakoff Diggings, one of California's newest State Parks.

When the news of the fall of Sebastopol finally reached San Francisco, a grand celebration was planned for November 26, 1855, by representative Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Sardinians (as the Italians were called). Apparently there were few Turks available, for there was no representative of the Ottoman Empire.

Let the San Francisco newspapers tell the story of the "Grand Manifestation by the Allies":

Yesterday, a grand celebration took place here of the victories of the Allied Armies of France, England, Sardinia and Turkey in their contest with Russia.

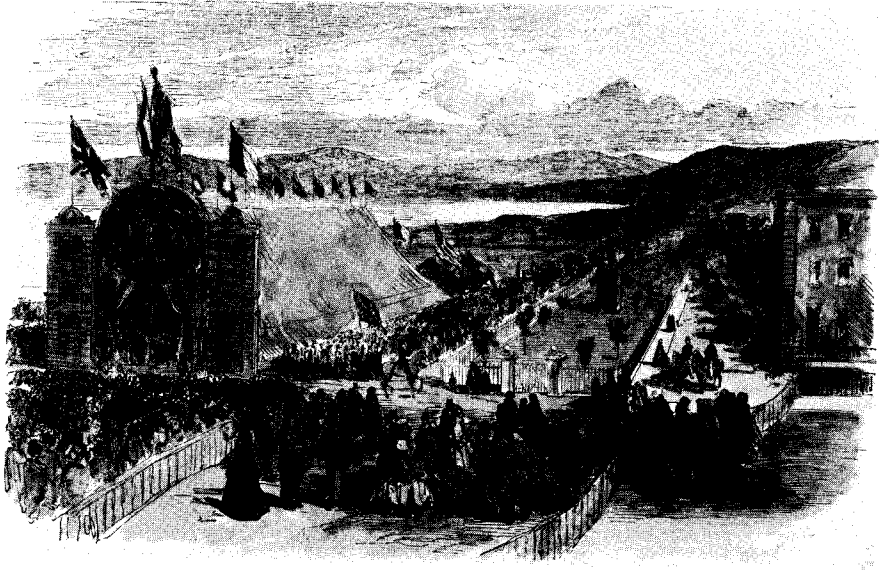
Two thousand enthusiastic men assembled to honor their native countrymen in distant lands. . . . The offices of the French and English merchants were all closed, while business in the mercantile portion of the city was nearly suspended. . . .

At 10 a.m. the procession formed on Market Street, near Second and marched to South Park, where a spacious Pavilion had been prepared for the Banquet.

The procession four deep, was accompanied by a large concourse of people, and headed by an advance with the French, English and Sardinian flags, followed by the American flag, French and British consuls, Naval Officers, and invited guests, the band playing appropriate tunes. When the head of the procession reached the top of the hill, a salute was fired from the British frigate, Amphitrite, lying off Rincon Point. A wooden structure had been erected on the hill . . . to represent the Malakoff Tower

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“Grand Manifestation in Honour of the Success of the Allies in the Crimea, Given at South Park, San Francisco.”



A sparkling daguerreian view shows South Park just after the first part of this English-type residential square was completed (probably early in 1855). *Photo courtesy of the Oakland Museum.*



... that great fortification which had cost the Allies so much blood and treasure, and which when taken proved to be the key to Sebastopol. From the mimic representation of this renowned Tower, the Allies fired the grand salute of the day.

The front of the Pavilion excited universal admiration. . . . In the centre were the words, "8th September 1855—Sebastopol." Above these were national arms of France and England, while Fame blew her trumpet that the world might hear. Over all were the allegorical figures of the four nations, France, England, Sardinia and Turkey—embracing each other. . . .

Wreaths of evergreens, the flags of the Allied Nations, and allegorical paintings of different kinds ornamented the remaining portions of the front of the Pavilion. This immense structure . . . was calculated to sit comfortably at table about 2,500 persons. Upon the canvas roof were displayed the flags of different nations, who either sympathized with the Allies or with whom the former were at peace. The "Stars and Stripes," of course, appeared among the national emblems.

On the platform before the Pavilion there were about one hundred vocalists and fifty instrumentalists. . . .

National airs were played by the band. . . . The musical part of the ceremony terminated shortly after noon. . . . All up to this moment had passed off most brilliantly. . . . For nearly an hour after this time the Pavilion was thrown open to the ladies who were present on the grounds. . . .

The preparations for the Banquet were on a magnificent scale. . . . Ten rows of seats, with tables on each side, extended from east to west in the Pavilion. These were divided in the centre by a broad platform about a foot high, which ran from south to north. On this platform were placed the Presidents and Vice Presidents, the members of the committee and the invited guests. . . .

On one side of them was a huge ox . . . standing, horns and all, roasted we understand by T. B. Faget, Clay Street Market, and so skillfully done that the hair which was left on from the knees down was still unsinged. . . .

On the other side was a cake of enormous dimensions, fashioned like a fortress, and which was supposed to represent the Malakoff. This cake was raised on a high pedestal, and its top was about ten feet from the ground. It bore on its base in golden letters the words, "8th September." Extending across the western extremity of the Pavilion was a large painting, representing the city of Sebastopol in flames. On a platform in front of this painting the band and choristers were placed.

The tables and seats were covered with white cloth. On the former there was a bounteous assortment of cold meats of every kind—sheep and pigs roasted whole, joints of all kinds of flesh, fowl of every variety. A bottle of claret stood beside every plate while dinner began, champagne was plentifully supplied to the company. Half a dozen hogsheads contained the wherewithal to satisfy such as liked a drop of beer.

Shortly after one o'clock, the ladies retired, and the company took their places at the table. . . . The dinner proceeded smoothly enough. . . . All were making merry with wine, when an interruption in the harmony of the proceedings took place, which ended in a general row, and broke up the meeting.

The row above alluded to began shortly after two o'clock. . . . The Malakoff cake was cut up for distribution, but somehow the process did not appear to be quick enough for the impatience of the guests. Some of these began to throw rolls of bread against the Tower, and immediately a perfect shower of light articles was directed against it, all in great good humor. The company were indisposed to listen to dull, dry speeches, the wine and the excitement of the day were having their natural effect. There was much noise and merriment. Some persons appear at this time to have laid

their shoulders to the Tower, and capsized it. Great shouts of laughter arose at this. Some French, English and Sardinian flags were now brought from distant parts of the Pavilion, and held upon the spot where the Tower had stood. At this time a person brought forward the American flag to mingle with the others. Soon after, an eager and angry rivalry appeared to take place between the bearers of the flags of the Allies and that of the Americans. . . . The war of flags continued for nearly two hours . . . including much strife and confusion. . . . Men were climbing on all sides of the poles that supported the roof, tearing and pulling down obnoxious flags and waving and fixing other flags in their stead.

The guests forgot to finish dinner; they stood on the tables, and sang their different national airs. The orchestra and chorus banged away at their own quarters. On the speaker's stand, in the centre of the Pavilion, many persons attempted, by remonstrances and earnest entreaties, to restore order . . . but all in vain. . . . Holes were cut in the canvas roof, and the rival flags were triumphantly cast out to the breeze. A portion of the roof fell, and half a dozen persons, who had been crawling on the high posts that supported it, were thrown violently to the ground. Then tables broke down by the weight of those who stood upon them. Noise, confusion and strife—the most hideous rowdyism ruled supreme. A great many—some hundreds, it was said—vagabonds and loafers, cut holes in the sides of the Pavilion, and then made themselves “at home.” Others . . . burst past the door-keepers, and defied all attempts to exclude them . . . it was impossible to proceed with the banquet; and, after unavailing attempts had been repeatedly made to restore order and peace, the company gradually withdrew from the Pavilion.

About four o'clock, the greater portion of the company had left the Pavilion.”

However, the day was not over. San Francisco displayed its usual cosmopolitan attitude, as reported in the *Daily Bulletin*:

**RUSSIAN SYMPATHY**—A large concourse of persons marched last night to the residence of the Russian Consul (Peter Kostromitinoff, on the corner of Essex and Folsom streets), who appeared on the balcony with his son, a little boy of about seven years. The latter said: “Gentlemen, my father desires me to say that this kind visit from you to express your sympathies for the people whom he represents, is deeply appreciated by him, and will always be remembered. He cannot express his sentiments in the English language, but he wishes you to be assured that he feels very grateful.” Three cheers were given by the crowd, which then dispersed.

During the next week the newspapers commented on the causes “which brought disgrace on the whole affair.” Comments included such statements as:

The French thought the English were attempting to take precedence of them. The English thought the French vain glorious. . . .

We regret to see the exhibition of a too morbid sensitiveness on the part of a portion of the French citizens . . . to view the acts of their American Brethren . . . as a premeditated insult to France.

That a few Americans having at first no participation in the melee, found themselves eventually in the mad vortex and yielded themselves up to the wild excitement of the hour when the fun grew fast and furious is undeniable. . . .

Another stated that “the thieves and loafers had got in and caused the disgraceful scenes.”

An Englishman wrote regarding the “disgraceful—disgusting details” . . . that “Americans hate liberty except for themselves.”

The San Francisco *Herald* defended the Americans in an editorial, stating, “We have been informed that several Negroes joined the procession,” that Americans were “jealous of foreign interference in slavery” and further that “contempt was evinced for America and American institutions . . . by the open admission of Negroes to all festivities.”

So the battle of words continued after the battle at South Park was long over! The thoughts are not recorded of the aristocratic ladies living nearby in their sedate South Park residences, more familiar with teas and kettledrums than rowdy riots.

So concluded an attempt at goodwill and brotherly love between the citizens of various nations in the lusty, youthful days of the Golden State.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The South Park incident of November 26, 1855, was covered extensively by the San Francisco press in a period when there were many more daily journals than our large cities can boast today. The long narrative quotation is from the *California Chronicle* of November 27 (Kemble Collection, California Historical Society). Reference to the *Bulletin* account and subsequent “follow-ups” in that journal and the *Chronicle* are used in the text. The *Herald* carried a very long story of the Battle of South Park on November 26; this account is at least as colorful as the *Chronicle*’s and corroborates the general narrative.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*In Pursuit of the Golden Dream: Reminiscences of San Francisco and the Northern and Southern Mines, 1849-1857.* By Howard C. Gardiner. Edited by Dale L. Morgan. (Stoughton, Mass.: Western Hemisphere, Inc., 1970. 390 pp. \$30.00.) Reviewed by David T. Leary.

Howard C. Gardiner left his native New York in 1849, spent some nine years in Gold Rush California, and went home in 1857. He never returned to the Pacific Coast, but during the 1890's he did put his California experiences down on paper. Although Gardiner contemplated immediate publication, his work has not seen print until now. Dale L. Morgan, distinguished student of Western America and Fellow of the California Historical Society, has turned out a handsome and formidable edition titled *In Pursuit of the Golden Dream*. It is rewarding both as exciting narrative and as scholarly source.

His years in California, said Gardiner, were the happiest of his life. And surely his adventures in Panama, San Francisco, and the northern and southern mines have a carefree spirit about them. It was a blithe period for Gardiner—as it must have been for many others.

In point of fact, the author's insouciant mood belies the mature years of his authorship. It is not so much that Gardiner lets his first months in California run away with a good bit of his account. It is, rather, that he frequently reports without imparting texture; that he often sees without reflecting.

Still, Gardiner's memoirs are not trifling. Apparently without intent, Gardiner projects a spirit of the time, and thus, if insouciance flaws at one level, it certainly redeems on another. More than this, however, Gardiner describes not only mining, but also politics, business, agriculture—indeed, a number of activities that engaged him. His writing is thus a distinctly useful tool for knowing Gold Rush life, spirit and fact.

Editor Morgan has enhanced the volume's utility in several ways. He has fitted it with maps and illustrations. Also, he has provided a fine set of notes, which offers much supplementary information and points out instances when Gardiner is factually off the mark. Then, too, Morgan has compiled a detailed index. While he intends this to be helpful in the development of a Gold Rush history, by states, it will obviously assist readers whose bent lies elsewhere.

Perhaps most importantly, however, in his introduction Morgan reviews approximately a hundred published reminiscences of the Gold Rush. While the popular book is one of the very best clues to the thinking of a period, the business of developing a reasonable list of titles is sometimes monumental. For itself, then, Morgan's introduction is a significant contribution.

Either as interesting narrative or as scholarly storehouse, *In Pursuit of the Golden Dream* is notable. And although such is scarcely needed, it is fresh evidence of Dale L. Morgan's value to the field of western history.

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*Gold Mines of California: An Illustrated History of the Most Productive Mines with Descriptions of the Interesting People Who Owned and Operated Them.* By Jack R. Wagner. (Berkeley, California: Howell-North Books, 1970. 259 pp. \$10.00.) Reviewed by John A. Hussey.

One day near the end of 1965 broadcasting executive Jack R. Wagner happened upon a newspaper article reporting that California's last major operating gold mine, the Sixteen to One at Alleghany, was closing down for good. He realized that time



was running out for an industry that since 1848 had been a major force in the state's development, and he decided to record what he could of it while the more fugitive sources—the personal and company papers, the photographs, and, most of all, the miners and operators themselves—were still available.

The result is *Gold Mines of California*, a fascinating collection of histories of a dozen of the state's most famous and productive quartz mines. While the narratives are well charged with the necessary hard facts concerning the oft-tangled chains of ownership, numerous consolidations, depths of workings, tons of ore crushed per day, and amounts of gold recovered, such legal and statistical details are generously larded with biographical sketches of the colorful people who owned, operated, and worked the mines and with tales of ghosts and high-graders, disasters and bonanzas, murders and heroism. Deliberately intended not to be a technical treatise on mining or a sociological study of mining life, the book nevertheless vividly portrays the methods by which the deep underground workings were developed and operated and conveys a sense of the challenges faced by those who followed the tantalizing business of quartz mining.

Despite his book's title, Mr. Wagner has prudently avoided the temptation to tell the stories of all of California's far-flung mining districts. The enterprises he describes were all located on the Mother Lode and in the Grass Valley-Nevada City area immediately to the north. The book opens with two introductory chapters, the first on placer mining, with emphasis on hydraulic operations, and the second—a most valuable contribution—on gold dredging. Then follow the chapters on the individual quartz mines, the Eagle-Shawmut at Jacksonville, the Argonaut and the Kennedy at Jackson, the Empire at Grass Valley, and eight others whose names were once known in mining circles around the world.

It is difficult to decide whether this work should be considered as highly readable text brilliantly illuminated by the many illustrations, or whether the narrative should be treated as an extended label for one of the most instructive collections of California mining pictures ever printed. Suffice it to say that Mr. Wagner, with the help of numerous libraries, private collectors, government agencies, and mining families, has assembled a series of photographs, paintings, and prints (many not previously reproduced) that go hand in hand with the text to make this book one of the year's major accomplishments in California publishing.

It is difficult to imagine any reader interested in California history who will not enjoy *Gold Mines of California*, but perhaps scholars should be warned that occasionally the haste with which Mr. Wagner worked can be detected. It is doubtful, for instance, that William Jennings Bryan would recognize the definition of "sixteen to one" that appears on page 237, and the date of January 19, 1948, for Marshall's discovery of gold has long been discarded in favor of January 24. But such lapses are minor and do not detract from the very real contribution made by this book. It appears destined to become standard background reading for a trip to California's gold country.

JOHN A. HUSSEY is the San Francisco-based historian for the National Park Service.

*The National Register of Historic Places: 1969.* (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior. National Park Service, 1969. 352 pp. including index. Black and white illustrations. \$5.25.) Reviewed by Joseph A. Baird, Jr.

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 has led to a reorganization of the internal structure of the historic buildings and sites divisions of the National Park Service. After thirty years of useful activity by the Historic American Buildings

Survey, a creation of Depression times ironically (it is only in periods of economic recession that historic buildings are likely to survive the frenetic onslaughts of "progress"), a much enlarged staff and improved recording facilities have made a national register inevitable. Much of the ethos of the new movement came from the National Trust (a key Trust person, William J. Murtagh, became Keeper of the Register). Planned as a biennial publication, the book at hand is a handy oblong divided alphabetically by states.

In his foreword, Secretary Hickel says: "Historic preservation is vital to our quest for a better environment . . . Improvement of the old and familiar may be a better choice than destruction for the reward unknown. By this approach we choose not to impede progress, but to support it." These are brave words. Unfortunately, the record of preservation in the United States is one of the worst in the world. During the unparalleled productivity and increase in gross (how appropriate!) national product of the last two decades, there has been ruthless disregard for preservation. The bulletins of the National Trust are full of infamous deeds of destruction in the name of progress. One of the very buildings recorded in the present volume, the Dodge house in Los Angeles by Irving Gill, was bulldozed into infinity against all the counsel and efforts of preservationists. If there is to be any more than a token record of America's historic past, and more than a totally unhistoric "re-creation" of the past in expensive Disneylands subsidized by state and national governments, much needs to be done.

For a review of such a register in the CHS *Quarterly*, one is primarily concerned with the section on California. The principles of selection, if indeed they can be called principles in any logical sense of that word, are curious indeed. Room 307, Gilman Hall at UC Berkeley (where plutonium was discovered), and the first Pacific Coast Salmon Cannery site (now located on a dreary, brush-covered bank of the Sacramento, opposite the "soon-to-be" glories of an Old Sacramento that never was) rub elbows with Fort Ross and the Santa Barbara Mission. One wonders why the Santa Barbara and Carmel Missions are included, but not San Francisco, which is as architecturally interesting and as "historic.." All of the missions have been subjected to endless restoration; it would be difficult to say which is more "historic." Why are two ships included in such a register? And why several wildlife refuges? I do not mean to imply that such things are not to be preserved, but if a former salmon canning site and a lumber ship are historic, why not one of the San Francisco Bay ferries or, to push this to ridiculous extremes, an Indian reed canoe?

One can not crowd all of history into one category. The plaintive list of five terms on p. XIV is witness to the agencies of the selection committee. When one is forced to define a *building* as a structure created to shelter any form of human activity or a *structure* as a work constructed by man, reason is at a far remove. It would have been far better in such a register to divide the material into sensible divisions. A separate register of historic buildings, a separate register of historic sites without buildings, etc. This present procrustean approach is bureaucratic and meaningless. One hopes that not only will this division be made in further registers, but that a great many more obvious additions will occur—the John Marsh house, the John Bidwell house, Temeles Hall, the Vallejo house at Sonoma, the Carson house at Eureka are but a few examples of residential architecture alone in northern California. Ghirardelli Square's dynamic re-use, rather than recreation of the past, falls squarely into Secretary Hickel's suggestions—but it is not included; however, the Old Mission Dam in San Diego County is—a meager remnant of an irrigation project which serves no present purpose. If history is to live and be used, it will not be through an entombment of Well No. 4, Pico Canyon Oil Field, on government records.

The visual presentation of the book is clear, the facts are carefully researched. Photographs are generally from National Park Service files. A slightly less funereal use of black bars to divide each entry might suggest a more hopeful future note for these entries, and not their imminent demise.

JOSEPH A. BAIRD, JR. is a professor of fine arts at the University of California at Davis and is the Director of the Laboratory for Research in Fine Arts and Museology there.

*The Wild West or, A History of the Wild West Shows, Being an Account of the Prestigious, Peregrinary Pageants Pretentiously Presented Before the Citizens of the Republic, the Crowned Heads of Europe, and Multitudes of Awe-struck Men, Women, and Children Around the Globe, Which Created A Wonderfully Imaginative and Unrealistic Image of the American West.* By Don Russell. (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1970. 152 pp. \$7.95.) Reviewed by Richard Batman.

Any historian of the American West soon becomes aware that he is operating in a dual subject, one part of which is the west in reality, the other part the Wild West that is seen virtually every night on television. Such historians have handled this dilemma by concentrating on the "real" west and dismissing the role it played in the popular mind and the image that was created as unimportant. This decision, although it results in leaving out much that is important in the American West, is understandable considering some of the books that have been available on the popular west.

There has been, however, some good material and one man who has been responsible for much of this is Don Russell. And in his latest book, *The Wild West*, Russell has once again made a significant contribution to the subject.

In this particular book Russell is concerned with the Wild West shows that were a popular feature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It has long been difficult to approach this field because of the confusion caused by the large number of shows, many of which lasted only a year or two. Russell, however, has cut through this complex subject quite well in the text, then has provided an appendix listing each of the many shows, the various name changes, and the years of operation.

The author has also quite neatly handled the problem of which was the first Wild West show by quite candidly admitting he is not sure. He does, however, trace the various traditions that combined to make such a show, quite correctly points out that being first is not as important as being influential, and then makes an intelligent argument for Buffalo Bill's show as being, not the first, but certainly the most influential progenitor of the tradition.

The *Wild West*, then, is a valuable addition to the literature of the popular west. In closing it might be well to add one interesting comment Russell makes on the popularity of the Wild West show. He says:

Before World War I a wide-spread theory held that there was something called Western Civilization; that it had been developed in Europe; and Americans, despite much brash boasting of the merits of democracy, regarded culture as an import. . . . Buffalo Bill's Wild West has been the sensation of Europe for five of the last six years. Americans would accept that favorable verdict.

Historians who would dismiss the Wild West as a reflection of the simplicity of the American mind and the lack of culture in America might do well to ponder the implications of these statements.

RICHARD BATMAN is an assistant professor at San Francisco State College where he teaches California history.

*Latest from Arizona: The Hesperian Letters, 1859-1861.* Edited by Constance Wynn Altshuler. (Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1969. 293 pp. \$10.00). Reviewed by Harwood P. Hinton.

In the early part of 1859, Thompson M. Turner, a printer from Cincinnati, Ohio, arrived in the mining town of Tubac, Arizona, and in the fall began sending letters monthly (and sometimes weekly) to the St. Louis *Missouri Republican* and the San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, describing the local scene. The letters were published under the pen name "Hesperian," a poetic rendering of the term "westerner." Sixty-five of these letters (October 17, 1859-May [?], 1861) are presented in Constance W. Altshuler's *Latest from Arizona: The Hesperian Letters, 1859-1861*.

The first part of the book contains an introduction and a biographical sketch of Turner. In the introduction the editor describes her search for the Turner dispatches, her editorial techniques, and the significance of the letters. Unfortunately, little attention is given to the time and setting in Arizona, and as a result the reader proceeds without a clear frame of reference. The sketch of Turner reveals pertinent information about his professional life but little else; one wonders whether county histories and records in his home state were consulted to flesh out his life.

The Hesperian letters reveal a great deal about the Santa Cruz Valley and adjacent regions during the late 1850s and early 1860s. Turner sheds new light on the interest in the San Pedro Valley at this time, the importance of the stage lines to the economy of the Tucson-Tubac area, the changing fortunes of the mining companies, the campaigning against the Apaches, the impact of the Mimbres River (New Mexico) gold strike on the Santa Cruz Valley, and the local attempts to create a Territory of Arizona. Fuller annotations in this section would have been helpful.

In the last part of the volume are seven appendices and a set of vignettes. The appendices present commentaries ("Arizona," "Mexico," "the Army," etc.) on the period in which the Hesperian letters were written. Some of the commentaries are more relevant than others. Some contain inaccuracies: for example, in Appendix 2, Governor Manuel Gándara was not replaced until January of 1856, then refused to give up the office to José de Aguilar; La Guásima should be rendered Las Guásmias; and W. D. Porter is W. H. Porter. One of the most interesting appendices (No. 5) untangles the fact and legend about the Bascom incident at Apache Pass. Also valuable are the half dozen news items (Appendix 7) clipped from the Tucson *Arizonian*—which Turner edited briefly—and published in other newspapers during the spring of 1861. The vignettes vary in length from one sentence to three pages and include 116 personalities mentioned in the Hesperian letters. Only a few sketches have supporting references.

The book is attractively designed and sturdily bound. The only illustration is an excellent map of the country between El Paso and Yuma, with stage routes, forts, towns, and mines clearly depicted. The index is disappointing, with no entries for such important items as Mesilla, Apache Pass, etc., while speedwriting, milk, and tripod are included. Despite its departure from the use of conventional editorial apparatus, *Latest from Arizona* provides valuable knowledge and increased dimension to a little known period of Arizona history. It will be welcomed by both the student and the general reader interested in a first-hand glimpse at the southwest over one hundred years ago.

HARWOOD P. HINTON is a professor of history at the University of Arizona, Tucson, and editor of *Arizona and the West*.



*Through the Country of the Comanche Indians in the Fall of the Year 1845: The Journal of a U.S. Army Expedition Led by Lieutenant James W. Abert of the Topographical Engineers.* Edited by John Galvin. (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1970. xviii & 77 pp., illus., maps, index, 10 x 14".) Reviewed by David J. Weber.

In 1966 John Howell Books published John Galvin's handsome edition of Lt. James W. Abert's "Examination of New Mexico in the Years 1846-1847" under the title *Western America in 1846-1847*. Now, as something of a companion piece, Howell and Galvin have brought forth the journal of Abert's reconnaissance of the Canadian River in 1845.

Each of these works had been previously published as Senate Documents (in 1848 and 1846 respectively), and their value to historians is well-known. *Through the Country of the Comanche Indians* is, of course, more accessible, more readable, and more beautiful than the government publication, and rendered more useful by a thorough index. This new edition is also a trifle more accurate since it is a collation of a government clerk's copy of Abert's original journal and the Senate Document. Unfortunately, Galvin was not lucky enough to find the original journal itself, which, as in the case of *Western America*, might have provided more details than the government version.

The chief contribution, however, of this new edition of Abert's 1845 report is to bring to light Galvin's discovery of previously unknown water colors by Abert, twenty-four of which are beautifully reproduced in this volume. Abert produced some charming scenes and Indian portraits and was a good draftsman whom Galvin terms an "artist extraordinary," without really telling us why. Perhaps, however, the paintings are to speak for themselves and certainly scenes such as those of Bent's Fort are of considerable historical value.

Lt. Abert had gone West in 1845 with Fremont's third expedition and had been dispatched from Bent's Fort at the head of a thirty-three man expedition charged with exploring the Canadian River to its mouth at the Arkansas. Abert's writing reveals a strong interest in the flora, fauna, and geography along his route. The same might be said of John Galvin, whose editorial notes concentrate on identifying place names and scientific works to which Abert alludes. Galvin makes little attempt to identify the people who accompanied Abert or the Indians he sketched. At the least, the reader ought to be told of the published biographies of such well-known figures as Thomas Fitzpatrick and Caleb Greenwood, while lesser-knowns who figure prominently in the narrative, such as John Hatcher, merit some biographical introduction.

The editor's notes are simply too few. When, for example, Abert quotes Thomas Fitzpatrick's lengthy discourse on the origin of Indian languages, the reader deserves to know if Fitzpatrick is talking nonsense or not. Finally, it would have been useful to discuss the significance of this topographical expedition's work—its contribution to cartography and its relation to the impending War with Mexico.

Yet, if the editor skimmed on details, the publisher did not. Like all Lawton and Alfred Kennedy-designed books, this is a beauty and, at the price, an extraordinary bargain.

DAVID J. WEBER is associate professor of history at San Diego State College, currently on leave as a Fulbright-Hays Lecturer at the Universidad de Costa Rica.

*Voyages and Adventures of La Pérouse.* Translated by Julius S. Gassner. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1969. 162 pp. \$8.00). Reviewed by A. P. Nasatir.

This beautifully printed slim volume on La Pérouse's voyage is a tribute to the Friends of the University of Hawaii. It was printed in an endeavor to popularize the

work of La Pérouse among readers in the United States. Californians have always been interested in La Pérouse, who was the first official French visitor to its shores. Although his stay of about ten days in Monterey in 1786, was relatively short, his description is of much interest and value. It is true that Cook's voyage which preceded La Pérouse is perhaps of greater overall importance in the work of scientific exploration of the Pacific, and Vancouver's subsequent visit and mapping of the West Coast of North America, are much better known than La Pérouse. Yet, the La Pérouse voyage was a valuable one. He had with him specialists in nearly every scientific field who drew up accurate reports and tables.

In 1786, La Pérouse was sent on his voyage around the world. Fortunately he sent his records back to France just prior to his disappearance. Despite the outbreak of the French Revolution, the French government published his work in four volumes, and it was soon thereafter translated into English and published in London in three volumes. Most scholars and interested persons have known that edition. However, to make the work of La Pérouse better known, F. Valentin published a one volume abridgement of the four volume work in 1839. This went through several editions. It is the 14th edition of this shortened version, published in 1875, that Dr. Gassner has here translated.

Anyone interested in reading about Pacific exploration would appreciate this version, and would emerge with a general knowledge of La Pérouse and what he accomplished. But any scholar, or anyone interested in working in the field of exploration, or any part of 18th century history of the Pacific, or the Pacific Coast area, or even Hawaii, must read the original edition. The interesting descriptions of places, events and observations are lacking in this volume. Where quotations are given by Valentin, they do not coincide with the original. For instance, the quotation on pages 49-50 are summarized from Volume II, pp. 215-224, of the original English translation; Chapter II, pp. 46-51 of this edition is covered in Volume II, pp. 194-235; Chapter V, pp. 52-64 are abridged from Volume II, pp. 247-332. All the illustrations handsomely printed in the work under review, are taken from the original edition with one of them turned around; the total number of illustrations are in no way comparable in number to the many charts, maps, and illustrations contained in the original edition. The supplementary correspondence and letters, maritime tables, etc., are of course omitted.

Dr. Gassner has modernized some of the place names, and has not burdened his edition with the scholarly attributes of specialists in the field. He has, however, added condensed versions of some of the descriptions of the natives, taken from the journal of Rollin, ship's surgeon on the La Pérouse expedition.

Dr. Gassner's translation of Valentin's 14th edition of his abridgement really should serve well the translator's purpose of introducing to American readers an important figure "virtually unknown in the United States outside of esoteric circles." Scholars should consult the original edition, or Charles N. Rudkin's account of La Pérouse in California published in 1959, or E. W. Allen's biography of La Pérouse produced with a bibliography in the same year. General readers will read Gassner's translation for learning about the great adventure that La Pérouse's Voyage really was.

A. P. NASATIR is a professor of history at San Diego State College and past president of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association.

*California Imprints, 1846-1876 Pertaining to Social, Educational, and Religious Subjects.* Compiled by Clifford Merrill Drury. (Glendale: Distributed for the author by Arthur H. Clark Co., 1970. 220 pp. \$10.00). Reviewed by Francis J. Weber.

The epithet describing bibliography as "the vestibule of science" is nowhere more

proudly sustained than in Dr. Clifford Drury's long-awaited compilation of religious, educational and social books, pamphlets, periodicals, newspapers, broadsides and manuscripts issued in California between 1846 and 1876.

This study, a labor of love and dedication to an ideal, has been many years in preparation. As far back as 1966, this writer recalls strongly recommending its publication as a unique contribution to the field of Western Americana. Since that time, additional entries have been made and existing ones enlarged upon to the extent that the completed opus now includes 300 titles not mentioned in the monumental bibliography of Robert E. Cowan.

Encompassing 1099 publications issued during the three decades between the inauguration of United States sovereignty and the last year surveyed by the American Imprints Inventory, the only specifically excluded categories are governmental publications, reprints from state legislative journals, materials related to the Pious Fund of the Californias and certain non-relevant religious and educational ephemera.

The coverage is richly expanded by three worthwhile appendices; one listing sixty extra-territorial items; another enumerating forty-four religious periodicals and a select grouping of thirty-five reference titles postdating the terminal date of 1876. In the twenty-two page introduction, the compiler carefully delineates the nature of his study as well as departure points for additional contributions of a related nature.

Entries, listed by author or sponsoring agency, are arranged alphabetically within particular years. Each title is described, annotated and located in at least one of the forty-eight prominent libraries, museums and archival centers surveyed.

Dr. Drury's bibliography amply fulfills his intention of providing a launching pad for further research towards the ultimate objective of a definitive history of religion in California. This study, issued in a limited edition of 500 copies, enhances the already enviable reputation of a nationally recognized historian, but, more than that, it demonstrates his remarkable competence in the allied and pivotal field of bibliographical research, upon which historical science depends for its very viability.

FRANCIS J. WEBER is archivist for the Archdiocese of Los Angeles and author of numerous books on the history of the Catholic Church in California.

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Charles C. Adams is professor of English and Chairman of the Department of English at Chico State College in Northern California. His historical and linguistic study of this colorful language is accompanied by a map of the valley and pictures from the Boontling era—with captions in Boontling. \$7.50

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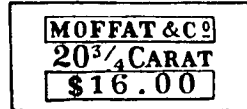
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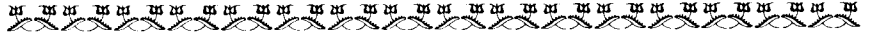
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## *March 9 through May 22*

"Sailing Days on the Redwood Coast"—A photographic exhibition of shipping, towns, and the lumber industry along the Mendocino Coast from 1860 to 1890. Assembled with the cooperation of the San Francisco Maritime Museum, this is the most complete exhibition ever presented on the subject. *CHS Headquarters.*

## *March 9 through May 29*

Selections from the permanent collection of the Society.

## *April 6 through May 1*

Photographs, prints, and memorabilia of the 1906 fire and earthquake.

## SPECIAL EVENTS

### *Sunday, April 18*

"I Was There," the annual CHS observance of the San Francisco fire and earthquake, will be held at 3:00 p.m. in *Fireman's Fund Auditorium, 3333 California St., San Francisco.* First-hand accounts of the 1906 holocaust will accompany a special showing of an outstanding documentary film. Dr. J. S. Holliday will be the program's moderator. Reservations necessary.

### *Tuesday, April 20*

A reception honoring retired San Francisco Fire Dept. Chief William F. Murray will be held from 3 to 5 p.m. at the old *Green Street Firehouse.* CHS members and their guests will have an opportunity to tour the former home of San Francisco Fire Engine Company 31 that Mr. and Mrs. Ralph K. Davies, its present owners, have transformed into one of the city's most unique museums. Reservations necessary.

### *Friday, April 23*

Book Auction—Duplicate and out-of-field material will be sold at an auction jointly sponsored by CHS and the Society of California Pioneers at 8 p.m. in *Pioneer Hall, 456 McAllister St., San Francisco.*

### *April 24 through May 1*

Master photographers Ansel Adams and Morley Baer will conduct a photography workshop in *Yosemite*, with field trips to Wawona, Mariposa, Hornitos, and Mt. Bullion, for one week beginning April 24. Arranged exclusively for members of the California Historical Society, those participating in the workshop will be working with authorities on the history, geology, and architecture of the region.

### *May 4 through June 15*

"Ethnic Experiences in California" will be the subject of a series of seven Tuesday evening lectures and discussions at *CHS Headquarters* to be given in cooperation with U. C. Extension.



THE CALIFORNIA HISTORY CENTER  
of the Foothill Community College District  
is proud to present

# THE DIARY OF CORA BAGGERLY OLDER

EXCERPTS 1916-1923

DONNA HARRIS, Editor

**"She was vital, alive, occasionally eccentric, but always interesting."**

Mrs. Older left a legacy of scrapbooks and diaries, and a library of books containing a wealth of history. She wrote a page in her diary daily, the earliest being 1906, and the last in 1966, when she fell in San Jose on a shopping trip and broke her hip. This little booklet of excerpts from the diaries of 1916-1923 are but a scratch in the surface of the writings she has left.



The Carmel-by-the-Sea "Literary Bunch."  
Sinclair Lewis is left in front row.  
George Sterling is right in front row.

Some interesting quotes from the book:

**January 11, 1916.** *When I get up late I always feel as if I had come in when two acts of a play had gone—as if I had missed something. I like to live the day from sunrise to moonrise.*

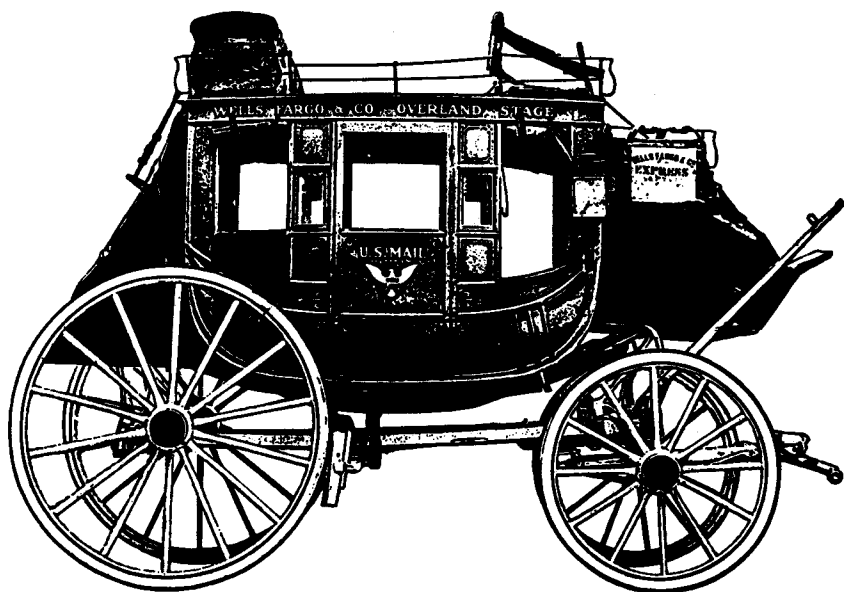
**May 12, 1916.** *Went to the Lincoln Steffens' dinner. Interesting, but did not convince me. His answers seem half answers. Then he is always trying to fit the world to his theory of no government. The moment a man accepts a definite theory about anything, his mind ceases to be interesting. Berkman (leading anarchist associated with Emma Goldman) was there and said he had no hatred of Frick when he shot him.*

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Walter G. Warren, Director, California History Center

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